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ABSTRACT

The 3-day colloquy was held to discuss educational and cultural problems with a view to what European society might be like in the year 2000. Participants divided into three working groups, each focusing on one of three major themes: multicultural Europe in 2000, the role of the school in a changing society, and migrant culture and its educational implications. The first group, stressing the importance of cultural interaction, noted that European migration has resulted in permanent cultural diversity, which will entail adaptation by ethnic minorities and native populations, and which has implications for education and teacher training. While noting the limitations of schools in solving social problems (such as having to teach cultural values and heritage, and also prepare for change), the second group emphasized the role of schools in achieving equal educational and occupational opportunity and in developing intercultural education. The third group stressed the diversity of migrant culture groups and their need to see cultural forms of expression in their interactions with host cultures. For each theme, the report includes an introductory paper produced as a basis for discussion, several papers prepared by outside experts, and the group's final report. The report also includes the conclusions of the Reporter General of the colloquy. (SR)

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RC 014618

Strasbourg 3 March 1983 DECS/EGT (83) 10

The CDCC's Project No. 7

«The education and cultural development of migrants»

COLLOQUY ON

«MIGRANT CULTURE IN A CHANGING SOCIETY
MULTICULTURAL EUROPE BY THE YEAR 2000»

Strasbourg 18-20 January 1983

General report
by
Ms Micheline REY
Chargée de mission
Accueil et éducation des migrants
Département de l'Instruction Publique Genève

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CONTENTS

		Page
1.	Introduction	2
2.	Theme 1 : Multicultural Europe by the year 2000 - Challenges and opportunities	5
2.1.	Introduction by John Singh	5
2.2.	Contribution of Professor M. Craft	6
2.3.	Contribution of Mr J.R. Lanot	10
2.4.	Report of the I Working Group, by A. Karagiorges	12
3.	Theme 2 : The role of the school in a changing society	15
3.1.	Introduction by L. van der Gaag	15
3.2.	Contribution of Dr. A. Sudi Bülbül	17
3.3.	Contribution of Professor Cotsapas	25
3.4.	Contribution of Mr. Walo Hutmacher	29
3.5.	Report of the II Working Group. by E. Poglia ...	33
4.	Theme 3 : The educational consequences of migrant culture	36
4.1.	Introduction by Louis Porcher	36
4.2.	Contribution of Xavier Couillaud	36
4.3.	Contribution of Mr F. Debyser	40
4.4.	Contribution of Mr Yngve Georg Lithman	43
4.5.	Contribution of Mr A. de Wasseige	46
4.6.	Report of the III Working Group, by Th. Mangot ..	51
5.	Conclusions of the General Rapporteur	55
	Annexe I : list of participants	

1. Introduction

1.1 From 18 to 20 January 1983 a colloquy was held in Strasbourg on «Migrant culture in a changing society - multicultural Europe by the year 2000», in connection with the work of the CDCC Project Group No. 7 on the education and cultural development of migrants.

The main idea underlying all the group's work is: interculturalism. The main lines of this approach were sketched out by the CDCC working party on the training of teachers of migrant workers' children (cf final report DECS/EGT (83) ..).

Interculturalism is a comprehensive sociological option. It is not confined to the education of migrants' children, although it does primarily concern them to the extent that intercultural education seems the most appropriate way of achieving the educational objectives of equality of opportunity and cultural development.

Interculturalism emphasises the fact that migration concerns not only migrants themselves, but the whole community in both the host country and the country of origin. It is a meeting between cultures which admittedly represents a challenge to each but in which each is enriched by the values of the other, provided that it is receptive to other forms of cultural expression. The intercultural approach is not only necessary because it is the only approach capable of meeting Europe's needs today and tomorrow in a world of growing interchange, mobility and interdependence, but also because it is extremely fruitful. As used in the Council of Europe, «multicultural» serves to describe phenomena (our societies are at present de facto multicultural), whereas «intercultural» implies an approach to action. It asserts the need for interaction between the various components in our societies and constitutes not only a point of reference, but also a method and a perspective.

The project group had decided on several different methods of work: case studies, visits to projects, the production of materials which could be directly used by the relevant target groups, meetings on particular themes to clarify ideas or options which had remained vague, with the assistance of outside experts. The colloquy on multicultural Europe in the year 2000 fell into this last category and was the second meeting of its kind. It accordingly followed on from the first meeting of experts (Strasbourg December 1981) which discussed the question of the relationship between culture of origin and immigrant culture (DECS/EGT (82) 4), and from the Group's other work.

1.2 The purpose of the colloquy was to discuss future developments, to look at educational and cultural problems with a view to what European society might be like in the year 2000. Three broad topics were discussed:

- multicultural Europe in the year 2000 - challenges and opportunities,
- the role of the school in a changing society,
- migrant culture and its educational implications.

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1.3 All the members of the project group were invited to take part. The colloquy was also privileged to be attended by the Chairman of the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CDCC), a member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the Secretariat of the CDMG and a representative of OECD (cf list of participants at Appendix I). During the first two days of the colloquy, three working groups meeting simultaneously each discussed one of the themes mentioned above, together with independent experts specialising in various subjects who had agreed to present the problem from the angle of their own work. The third day, for members of the group and the observers, was set aside for summing up.

1.4 The Chair at the colloquy was taken by Professor L Porcher, Chairman of Project Group No. 7, who opened the session. Then Mr M Marschall von Bieberstein, Director of Education, Culture and Sport at the Council of Europe, welcomed the participants, stressing the importance of the meeting, which should be viewed from the angle of North-South dialogue and human rights. The intercultural path was a difficult one, but the only one in keeping with our social and cultural responsibility. People had recently begun to talk about «immigrant culture» and this was a fascinating subject, but the purpose of the meeting was to discuss problems which had so far been «reacted» to «and to plan and think about the future». The colloquy's discussions would have an impact on the CDCC's other work: in the round table planned for June 1983 at the next session of the CDCC on «multicultural Europe in a world of crisis», in the new project on «Modern Languages», the declaration of cultural objectives, etc.

1.5 Still in plenary sitting, the Chairman described the main lines of Project No. 7 which had been started in 1980 and was to extend over five years. The group had decided to concentrate, from an intercultural standpoint, mainly on the relationship (an important methodological option):

- between the school system and its immediate environment;
- between cultural activities in the school and outside the school,
- between children's education and adult education.

He also referred to the activities of the working party on teacher-training which had preceded Project No. 7 and particularly to the publication of background dossiers on the culture, civilisation and educational systems of countries of origin and receiving countries, the work done by the CDMG in the social and educational field, with special reference to the Council of Europe experimental classes, and the new stage of the modern languages project, Project No. 12, one of whose priorities concerned migrant adults and children (cf bibliographical references at Appendix II). The Chairman informed participants of the death of a member of Project Group No. 7, Mr Kari Lasonen, lecturer in the Education Department of the University of Jyväskylä, Finland, who had been killed while on official business abroad. The work they were able to do during these three days would be the best kind of tribute that could be paid to him. The groups were then formed and set to work separately.

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1.6 During the summing up session, Mr C Dejardin, representing the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly (Committee on Migration, Refugees and Demography), referred to the importance of exchanging information between the various bodies of the Council of Europe, especially since they shared a common concern, as was shown by the Conference on Tolerance and the forthcoming Colloquy on the Notion of Democracy (Strasbourg 23-25 March 1983). Their discussions should be angled towards North-South dialogue. The resurgence of nazism in our societies and the further entrenchment of ethnocentric attitudes among both minority and majority groups, made it all the more necessary to put across the idea of pluralism and to refuse to allow differences to be perceived as forms of inferiority. In this respect, the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms provided a valuable point of reference. He was gratified by the project group's discussions, but noted that once again questions concerning young people had been discussed in their absence. A more careful examination also needed to be made of the problems of adults and the role of permanent education.

1.7 Mr R Weber, Chairman of the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CDCC), emphasised the importance of Project No. 7 which, among all the projects of the CDCC, was the one which related educational and cultural work the most closely to one another and which sought most to integrate the two dimensions. The project approached culture as a many-sided, dynamic, changing and not fixed phenomenon, which was the right approach. The intercultural option deserved to be pursued further. However, a number of the notions it involved were by no means clear and they would have to be clarified in the years ahead. Intercultural dialogue must take place not only at national, but just as much at regional level. This approach would have to be looked at more closely in the CDCC. The group's work in fact entailed a change in perspective by comparison with what had been said in the CDCC: linguistic phenomena were no longer regarded as having priority. The cultural approach was important, as it was also important to think about values. There was a further change in perspective in that migrants were regarded not as people (or groups) with problems, but as people with their own cultural riches. Similarly, where the schools were concerned: if they worked badly, it was because there was something wrong with them; it was not because of the foreigners in their midst. The CDCC, in planning its future work, would be attentive to the colloquy's conclusions and its ideas would be reflected in that future work. In particular, it would look at the possibilities of making fuller provision, at European level, for information about migrants' education and culture (eg via the EUDISED system) (1).

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(1) EUDISED is a computerised European system of educational documentation and information. It was set up in 1968 by the Council of Europe to serve the geographical area of the CDCC member states (Secretariat note).

1.8 The Colloquy on Multicultural Europe in the Year 2000 was conceived as an opportunity for more searching discussion. In order to give the reader some idea of the complexity of the data and the diversity of points of view on the one hand, the general drift of discussions and the conclusions on the other, this report will include, for each of the three themes:

- the introductory paper produced as a basis for discussion by one of the members of the project group;
- the contributions of the outside experts, brief papers written before the colloquy (which the participants were not all able to read beforehand - which unfortunately restricted their impact);
- the group's report at the end of the two days of group discussions.

These three parts will be followed by the conclusions of the General Rapporteur, with the benefit of the plenary discussion on the last day.

2. Theme 1

«Multicultural Europe by the year 2000 - challenges and opportunities»

2.1. Introduction by Mr. John Singh

- The present responses to the presence of migrants in European societies both socially and educationally have been essentially reactive and pragmatic because of the failure to foresee the consequences of attracting labour from beyond national and continental boundaries. In some countries the main thrust of the responses have been based on the belief that migrants would eventually return to their homelands and in others on the recognition of permanent settlement with the expectation of social and cultural assimilation. Both expectations have been fulfilled only in part and it now seems clear that the ethnic and cultural mix of the populations of several European countries have changed significantly and will not revert to the original position.

- Given this situation and the fact that new migration on any substantial scale has stopped it may be possible to determine, or make informed guesses, at the population trends in individual countries and the consequential educational social and cultural issues that may arise. If this is the case then an analysis of the likely shape of our societies of the future could help local and national authorities in their future planning.

- Some of the issues that experts from Council of Europe member states and members of Project No. 7 might consider are listed below. This is by no means an exhaustive list but suggestions to be modified, reduced or added to.

Suggested topics:

i. Migrants/ethnic minorities are mainly identified at present with urban industrial areas. Is this pattern likely to last into the future and what will be the consequences for national and local services if substantial demographic changes occur?

ii. Multicultural approaches to social and educational provision may in the long term bring about significant changes in the national identities of whole societies. If so, will the demand for future generations to maintain particular cultural characteristics be sustained? If not what aspects of their cultures are most likely to be maintained and how far will local and national authorities need to be actively engaged in the preservation? For example will national and local authorities be expected to teach minority group languages as second languages?

iii. If some or all aspects of minority cultures are maintained, will they become atrophied and static or develop differently from their national as a result of local influences. If so in what way? For example will European Moslems be different in kind to those in Moslem countries? Will this have implications for local and national responses?

iv. On the basis of present trends are minorities likely to gain parity of achievement educationally and in employment? If not, what additional opportunities will be necessary to bring this about in school and post-school provision?

v. If minorities disperse substantially beyond their present close community contexts will they be under greater or lesser threat from racialist attitudes and discrimination? If they are likely to be under greater threat what could local and national responses be?

2.2. Contribution of Professor Maurice Craft, University of Nottingham, United Kingdom

Demography

Europe has always been "multicultural". The flows of migration, of conquest and of trade have run through the continent for centuries, enriching an already immense variety of cultures, and during long periods of political and economic stability the limited technology of pre-industrial transportation deepened these cultural and linguistic divisions. By the 1970s, some 73 distinctive ethnic groups could still be identified in a Europe bordered by the sea and, to the east, by the Urals. Each has its own territory, language or consciousness (a "sense of peoplehood"), but only one-third constitute a distinct political state. If one also takes account of social class differences (and of what has been termed "ethclass", where ethnicity and class intersect), to say nothing of the distinctive beliefs and behaviour associated with region, religion, gender or age within any social group, the multiplicity of cultural differences becomes almost infinite.

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But it is inter-ethnic cultural differences which probably still generate most misperceptions, hostility and conflict, and a first challenge for multicultural Europe must therefore be the development of a value system more in tune with its intrinsic pluralism, a value system more accepting of diversity. This is all the more important now that migration is such a significant feature of modern Europe. The total "foreign" population of the 9 EEC countries had exceeded 10 million by the 1970s, and although half and less than 5% of immigrants, France had 7%, Belgium 8% and Luxembourg over 26%. What is more, the immigrant population of each European country is extremely varied: in France it includes large numbers of Portuguese, Algerians and Moroccans, Germany has many Turks and Yugoslavs, and the United Kingdom, Indians, Pakistanis and West Indians. Many of the 9 also have sizeable minorities of Italians, Spaniards and Greeks, but there are smaller communities of Africans, Cypriots, Maltese, Chinese and numerous other nationalities. A recent language survey among London schoolchildren, for example, identified 131 different home languages; 14% of all pupils, in fact, were bilingual. So, given the generally higher birthrates of these minorities, the likelihood of substantial proportions of them not returning to their countries of origin, and a continuing disparity of living standards both within and outside the EEC, we may expect the natural linguistic and cultural diversity of Europe to be significantly reinforced by the year 2000.

Structural and political issues

However, the hypothesis of increasing diversity indicated above must be qualified in several ways. Structurally, no society can survive without a large measure of agreement on a common core of values, whether these are democratically accepted or autocratically imposed. A linguistically and culturally heterogeneous society may be enriched in many ways, compared with those more uniform in social structure. But where linguistic and cultural differences seriously impede communication, social interaction, common schooling or intermarriage, or where they become embodied in differentiated political and constitutional arrangements, social stability and continuity is put at risk. In other words, the celebration of cultural diversity is enriching up to the point beyond which it may become divisive; social cohesion provides for stability and continuity up to the point beyond which it imposes a deadening uniformity. The critical point in each case must be a political matter, and this is a second qualification.

Where the social policy of assimiliation is pursued and minority languages and cultures are discouraged this may give greater emphasis to social cohesion; but it requires a change of identity for members of ethnic minority groups, it may precipitate numerous problems of personal adjustment and mental health, and it involves a substantial loss of national linguistic skills. So-called "melting pot" policies claim to produce a new national identity from the new cultural mix, but in practice they generally involve assimilation to the dominant culture. Pluralist social policies explicitly seek culture maintenance for ethnic minority groups, either on the limited grounds that this facilitates the transition to the dominant language and culture and eases social integration, or on the longer term view that cultural diversity is intrinsically valuable in the alienating conditions of modern mass societies. So while known demographic trends may be expected to reinforce European linguistic and cultural diversity by the year 2000, the extent of this diversity will depend upon the social policies pursued.

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One further political factor should be considered, namely the vigour with which democratic and egalitarian policies are pursued with respect to ethnic minorities. Is full citizenship being everywhere applied? Is equality of access to education, housing and employment fully available? Is there "positive discrimination" for the most severely disadvantaged? Without appropriate social policies regarding such democratic and egalitarian objectives, some linguistic and cultural minorities may retain their present position as an "underclass" in many European countries.

Culture

So far this paper has argued, first, that Europe by the year 2000 will be at least as culturally diverse as it is today; and second, that the extent of this diversity will largely depend on the social policies pursued. A third step is to consider more closely the nature of this diversity: what cultures will be involved in the "multicultural" Europe of the year 2000? Apart from (a) the majority cultures of very long established populations, there will be (b) the minority cultures of recent migrants, and (c) the minority cultures of 2nd and 3rd generation migrants.

a. majority cultures: major linguistic and cultural communities, with their broad regional variations will remain, although possibly with increased status being accorded to these regional variations as past cultural hierarchies weaken.

b. traditional minority cultures: although migrants are always likely to be more "modern" and less "traditional" in orientation than the cultures they have left, they will in many cases have come from more rural, more hierarchical and more sexist communities than those of the host country. Substantial problems of culture clash will exist, as they do today, both for adults (in employment and wider social interaction) and for children (in relating to peers and parents, to in-group and out-group, to old values and new values). The difficulties for adolescent girls may be the most severe.

c. "modern" minority cultures: what form will these take? On the one hand, if restricted employment opportunities and limited social policies cause ethnic minority communities to remain in large urban concentrations, 2nd and 3rd generation migrants are more likely to retain distinctive linguistic, religious and other cultural characteristics. On the other hand, whether through greater dispersion, the natural structural pressures towards social cohesion, or liberal social policies, many minority group members will have assimilated to the dominant culture and (pigmentation apart) will no longer be visible. There is, however, a third possibility: biculturalism. Immigrant children, socialised by home and school, grow up in a bicultural community, and (if it is socially approved and encouraged) may develop a bicultural identity - able to live freely in both the culture of origin and the culture of adoption. In so doing, these 2nd and 3rd generation individuals contribute to the development of a minority culture derived from the traditional but in many ways different from it.

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Overview

No intelligent observer will regard the analysis of challenges and opportunities presented by multicultural Europe at the end of the 20th century as other than highly speculative. The social processes involved, at both the macro and micro levels, are extremely complex and only too easy to over-simplify. This paper has therefore sought simply to map some of the salient demographic, political and ideological considerations, as a contribution to discussion. It concludes with a summary of the main points, and with a purely personal view of the most desirable outcomes, with particular reference to the role of education.

a. context

- Europe has always been multicultural, and by the year 2000 will probably be even more linguistically and culturally diverse.

- this diversity, provided overall social cohesion is secured, is enriching, and is the very basis of civilisation. Economically it can provide an increased range of productive skills. Politically it may be regarded as the expression of a basic human right. Socially, it can offer an additional source of personal identity in the alienating conditions of modern mass societies.

b. policies

- pluralist social policies are accordingly to be preferred to the assimilationist policies of the past, again provided overall social cohesion is ensured.

- a first "challenge" must therefore be the development of a value climate more accepting of diversity. In education, this means making all children more aware of the ethnic variety of modern Europe, more appreciative of the intrinsic worth of all cultures, and more informed about the diverse origins of European society itself. It implies the development of less ethnocentric school curricula, textbooks and other resources.

- secondly, broader social policies will need to be developed to strengthen equality of opportunity for linguistic and cultural minorities in employment, housing and all other aspects of citizenship. In education, ethnic minority children will need teachers sensitive to a range of needs in language development (involving both mother tongue and the majority language), and teachers knowledgeable about the problems of under-achievement by minority pupils. European schools by the year 2000 will have well-developed programmes for minority languages as one aspect of culture maintenance; and their staff will be attuned to problems of culture clash, bicultural socialisation and pupil identity, and intergenerational relationships in minority groups particularly for adolescent girls.

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- finally, multicultural Europe by the year 2000 will have well established legislation and codes of practice for countering inter-ethnic prejudice, discrimination and racism, and schools will possess guidelines on these matters. All these educational policies have implications for teacher training, and in 1983, when we are still virtually at the beginning of a long road, urgent implications for training the teacher trainers.

2.3. Contribution of Mr. Jean-Raymond Lanot, Délégué académique à la formation continue, Rectorat de l'Académie de Toulouse (France)

Although, as Mr John SINGH's memorandum points out, there has clearly been an irreversible change in the ethnic and cultural characteristics of the populations of several European countries, it is hard to imagine that migration on the scale of the past thirty years will continue or resume. The present world crisis, even if overcome by a "new deal", will have wrought significant changes in economic balances; by the year 2000 the different countries of Europe, which are grappling simultaneously with falling birth-rates and serious employment problems, will have had to modify their systems of growth, re-interpret the principles underlying the distribution of national wealth and, at world level, work out a new division of labour. For their part, the least advanced countries will, in all probability, be engaged in a process of endogenous development no longer modelled exclusively on the technologically and socially developed countries. There is thus every likelihood that the problem of migrant populations will be, almost without exception, confined within its present limits and concern only controlled movements or the definitive cultural and social integration of second-generation minorities.

1. It is therefore possible that the mixing of peoples in the education system and the search for closer correspondence between training and employment will reduce the concentration of ethnic minorities in urban industrial areas. The two waves of Spanish emigration to France at the turn of the century and in 1936 illustrate this point: a group which was numerically large when it arrived is now scattered over the whole of France.

At all events, permanent migration with no illusion of returning to the country of origin makes social if not cultural assimilation a necessity, and the agent for this process of assimilation is the education system. Might we be right in thinking that the two difficulties facing states and towns (housing, ostractism if not racism) will lead to less friction? Provided, of course, that welfare benefits are fairly apportioned and that ethnic minorities are no longer treated as "economic and social piriahs". This entails not only recognising migrant minorities' rights to employment, education, health, etc, but also promoting their right to own property, including land.

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2. Only in the long term will a multicultural conception of social and educational systems be able to exert an influence on a whole society's national identity, since national identity is heavily conditioned by a range of institutions and an economic and social system which are both deeply rooted in a country's social history. A cultural heritage is never willingly surrendered: the dominant national culture can cope with concessions to minority cultures but, like all institutions, its only concern is to survive. Colonial experiences bear this out. The right to be different, which appears in all humanist schemes, presupposes the preservation of specific cultural characteristics, but the balance of forces is such that these characteristics survive in rarely more than a few fields: the use of leisure time, consumer habits and, where it coincides with a fashion stimulated by tourism, clothing. As soon as the break with the country or culture of origin is consummated and it proves necessary or simply easier to adopt the customs of the host country, the idea of preserving a cultural identity through the teaching of a second language is a mere delusion. Bilingualism from birth is the only possibility that stands some chance of success: and this requires of the parents a particular cultural level and specific skills. The artificial maintenance of a part of a culture with which an individual does not identify because it is divorced from its natural setting can only be of concern to an élite that is by definition impervious to any form of deculturation. The problem has to be approached differently depending on whether it concerns the first or the second generation, and return to the country of origin after a short period or direct contact with sources (second language) that is hardly distinguishable from a tourist excursion.

3. Barring the setting up or perpetuation of ghettoes - and this seems to be out of the question in view of the unfortunate experiences of the past decade - the working assumption would be an atrophied form of minority cultures confined to the areas mentioned in paragraph 2. Minority cultures would stand little chance of remaining untouched by the interpenetration of ethnic immigrant and local characteristics. For instance, what do the sale of North African spices in open air markets and the participation of second-generation North Africans in local "corridas" mean in the South-West of France? What we are witnessing, moreover, is as much a blending of immigrant and local cultures as a blending of immigrant and national cultures, and what is at stake in the scattering of immigrant populations (see paragraph 1) is successful integration and intercultural assimilation.

4. Cultural minorities will never be able to do as well as nationals for as long as educational curricula are based on cultural references that are the expression of a national heritage which migrants cannot regard as their own. The fundamental problem is the transition from an élitist system of education to one of education from the masses. This is as necessary now as for the future and implies that curriculum content should be scaled down to cater for all learner groups.

The preparation of young migrants for employment raises the question of research into the ergonomics of training. At present we have little information on the skills required for the various occupations, and this makes it impossible to give any form of positive recognition (by enhancing the status of unusual skills) to ability and achievement. The yardstick by which the system judges an individual is his acquisition or non-acquisition of the dominant features of the collective culture. Governments ought to be made aware of the value of transferring to Europe the characteristic skills and attitudes of countries of origin and of their being assimilated by the labour market.

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5. The scattering of cultural minorities over the whole of a national territory is highly desirable as a means of preventing any form of racism It presupposes a serious analysis of the labour market and of its distribution by occupation sector and skills in demand. The scattering process is well under way in rural areas in particular, for reasons which have more to do with national popular imagery or a hierarchy of perceptions than with a deliberate policy option (keeping schools open in rural areas, acceptance of existing housing stock, utilitarian approach to immigrant labour). The resulting mutual understanding and integration deserve to be emphasised, as they can apparently limit the possibility of rejection.

2.4. Report of the Working Group

Chairman: Mr John SINGH (United Kingdom)

Rapporteur: Mr Andreas KARAGIORGES (Cyprus)

Members: Mr Jean Raymond LANOT (independent expert) (France)
Mr Maurice CRAFT (independent expert) (United Kingdom)
Ms Liv GUNVALDEN (Norway)
Mr Santiago GABRIEL MURCIA (Spain)
Mr Claude DEJARDIN (Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Committee on Migration, Refugees and Demography)
Mr Raymond WEBER (Chairman of the CDCC) (Luxembourg)
Mr Norbert BOTTANI (OECD)
Mr Engin GÜNER } (CDMG)
Mr Victor CANALES }

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The group agreed that there has been a permanent change in the ethnic and cultural mix of countries that have received migrants or ethnic minorities, and that this will have continuing educational implications for those countries.

It was agreed that the likely outcome of this change would lead to cultural pluralism accompanied by social integration.

A further likelihood would be that the mainstream cultures of the societies would undergo some cultural change to take account of some of the characteristics of minority cultures.

If the analysis above proves to be the case then the following issues arise:

i. for ethnic minorities;
ii. for the host population;
iii. for the total population.

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1. For ethnic minorities

A. Host countries languages: If, as seems evident, children born in host countries enter the school system as speakers of only their home language, the teaching of the host country language would need to be actively taught in first and pre-school provision. It is also likely that they would need continuous support through the school system. This teaching is likely to be most appropriate within the normal curriculum content so that the language being learned relates directly to the normal subject content.

B. Minority languages: This has at least four dimensions which would need to be taken into account:

i. Children entering pre-school and first school would need the opportunity to further their cognitive and conceptual learning through the first language in the early stages while they achieve competence in the host country language.

ii. Children will require the opportunity to study their mother languages to an academic level in secondary school. This has two purposes: one for the personal development of the individual and two, to broaden the range of languages available within the host countries. (This provision should also be available to indigenous members of the host country.)

iii. The maintenance of the language during primary and secondary may best be carried out by active encouragement and material support of community provided classes.

iv. There will also be an increasing need for host country native teachers to be able to take account of and offer status to the language skills and life experiences that children bring with them into the classroom.

v. The responsibility for the teaching of minority languages will increasingly depend upon ethnic minorities and migrants educated and trained in the host countries. To do this effectively they may need close contact with the countries of migration.

C. Social values: Over a period of time, ethnic minorities and migrants will need to come to terms with some of the fundamental social values of those societies they have joined. At the same time many of their cultural characteristics may be retained intact.

i. Some of the social values that ethnic minorities and migrants will need to respond to, if they are to take as active a part as possible in those societies, are as follows:

a. the freedom of choice for individuals;
b. equal opportunity for boys and girls and men and women;
c. the concept of democracy as practised in the host countries and the need for participation.

ii. Some of the cultural characteristics that are likely to be maintened are :

a. religious practice and beliefs,
b. language
c. a range of social customs including family organisation and relationships.

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An acceptance of these needs is unlikely to come about unless there is substantial public education among ethnic minorities and migrant communities.

D. It is likely still to be the case, by the year 2000, that there will continue to be educational underachievement among minority communities. To increase the supply of educated people from minorities into the teaching and other social professions it may be necessary to establish bridging courses to enable them to achieve the qualifications necessary.

E. The present system of introducing materials from abroad to meet the specific needs of ethnic minorities and migrants will need to be reviewed, and greater consideration given to the production of materials based on the experiences of minorities in the host countries.

2. For the host population

A. There will be an increasing need for the host population to be provided with information about the cultural characteristics of different groups that make up societies. This information needs to be generated within the host countries and to deal sensitively with the cultural and social lives of people as they exist in the host country. This information should also include those factors which led to people moving from one country to another in order to break down some of the stereotypes and fears that exist within the host countries. The dissemination of such information may be the responsibility of national or local agencies depending upon the circumstances in any individual country.

B. Racial understanding: The group felt that racial and ethnic hostilities would need to be dealt with in the public education system. This may be done by a more sensitive approach when dealing with matters of race or ethnic difference within a normal curriculum or by more direct intervention by the inclusion of studies of «racial awareness». Racial prejudice may take two forms. One, the overt expression of hostility and two, the unintentional discrimination which occurs as a result of institutional practices not having adapted to a changing population.

3. For the total population

A. There will need to be modifications to the mainstream curriculum of schools and further education institutions to take account of a multicultural society.

i. One aspect of this is the way in which existing curricula are dealt with so that sterotyping is not confirmed and opportunities are taken to deal with historical and other evidence presented to pupils and students so that it is not only presented from a Eurocentric point of view. This will enable pupils and students to come to conclusions about events and issues based on a broad analysis.

ii. It may also be necessary to consider the inclusion of curricular materials which reflect the cultural background of cultural minorities, particularly in the humanities subjects at primary, secondary and further education levels.

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iii. It may also be necessary to offer to those students who wish to do so the opportunity within the normal school curriculum of pursuing lines of educational inquiry which take them to their roots.

B. There will be an increasing need at initial and in-service level to train teachers and administrators to respond effectively to a multicultural society.

i. Some teachers will need to have their training focussed on the specific and continuing needs of ethnic minorities so that they can deal with such issues as the language needs of ethnic minorities and migrants, the underachievement of minorities and identity problems of minorities.

ii. All teachers will need to be trained to be less ethnocentric, to accept the intrinsic values and life styles of other cultures, to have knowledge and information about the demography of the society and to be able to define and identify racial innuendos in teaching materials. They will also need to understand the dynamics of prejudice and racism.

iii. The following are three models for this training:

a. special options - which will only attract those interested and enthusiastic;

b. an infusion into course subjects in teacher training such as psychology and sociology;

c. the permeation of all curricula areas in teacher training - this will include both vocational and academic studies.

C. Common core values in both school curricula and teacher training: There are some common core values which can be reasonably introduced into learning situations:

i. respect of other nationalities;
ii. respect of family structures;
iii. respect of other faiths;
iv. respect of the old;
v. the right of education for all;
vi. the right to full involvement in social, civil, commercial and political life.

3. Theme II : The role of the school in a changing society

3.1. Introduction by Mr. L. Van der Gaag

The changed and still changing composition of the populations of many European countries has posed or aggravated many social and socio-cultural problems. As usual, when problems are really difficult and require fundamental changes in attitudes and values, one tends to look at the school for a solution. It is expected from the school, among other things, to bring about mutual understanding, to eliminate discrimination, to safeguard the cultural identity of the minority groups and to offer equal educational (and thus social and economic) opportunities to the new citizens as individuals and also as groups.

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Is it realistic to expect all this from the school? Not only is there a certain tension between some of these aims, but the role of the school in a changing society is in itself already contradictory. On the one hand it must pass on the cultural heritage of the community and assure social and cultural coherence and continuity, and, on the other, it must prepare for change, which means that it must foster a critical sense as regards the prevailing value system.

The school, moreover, is not an independent agent, it is an integral part of society and can only disseminate «new» values that have already been widely accepted in society.

It would seem useful to analyse in a European context what can and what cannot be expected of the school at the present moment. Some of the questions to be answered, would seem to be:

1. What is the influence of the structure of the educational system, that, as a rule, reflects and promotes the prevailing value system (a differentiated or comprehensive system, the relation between private and public education, the duration of compulsory schooling for boys and girls, co-education, etc)?

2. What pedagogical requirements should be borne in mind when introducing intercultural education? (All education is necessarily based on a (more-or-less consistent) value system; how should conflicting value systems be handled and incorporated in the educational process?)

3. The school is only one educating force among many. What conditions should be fulfilled outside the school in order to enable the school to perform its role adequately?

4. Should not priorities be set as regards the various aims? (The more aims one pursues at the same time, the less effective education tends to be; moreover, funds for extra facilities are at present not available.) If so, what should the priorities be?

   What criteria should be used in selecting them (eg the urgency of the needs; the effectiveness with which they can be pursued by the school)?

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3.2. Contribution of Dr. A. Sudi Bülbül, University of Ankara, Turkey

Migrant workers were asked and welcomed by the receiving countries of Europe because their manpower shortages are filled by them. The sending countries were also happy with it because they have decreased the tension of unemployment in their countries on one hand and the deficit in the balance of payments on the other. In short, it was "good business" on the basis of mutual benefits and both parties involved were happy with it, including the migrant workers themselves.

Under these circumstances the problems that would come together with the workers' migration did not get enough attention at the beginning. Consequently, workers' migration has brought several new socio-cultural and educational problems in addition to those which have already existed as a result of several changes in the environment. The education of migrant workers' children has become a real problem. These children have become a heavy burden on the educational systems of many receiving countries which were already in "crisis".

As usual, the local and national governments of the receiving and sending countries have turned their attention towards education and schools have been expected to solve the problems. The receiving countries have tried to adapt their educational systems to the new needs which have emerged as a result of migrant workers' children at compulsory education age.

Several educational models have developed and several practices are followed depending upon the local, regional and national conditions and understandings. In spite of these differencies, the following three general objectives seem to be commonly accepted in all receiving countries for the education of migrant workers' children.

1. Equity: to provide equal educational (and thus social and economic) opportunities to the migrant workers' children as individuals and also as groups.

2. Integration: to integrate the migrant workers' children into the educational, social, cultural and economic systems of the receiving country in which they live.

3. Cultural maintenance: to maintain the tie between the children of migrant workers and the culture of their countries of origin in order to safeguard their cultural identity and ease reintegration into the country of origin in case they return.

Is it realistic to expect all this from the school?

The answer to this question is not "yes" or "no" because it depends on several things. It would therefore be helpful to think of the expected "functions" and "roles" of education before formulating an answer.

Traditional and modern functions of education

Education cannot be thought of in isolation from the organisation of society. School is a social institution, and like other institutions reflects the characteristics of the society in which it is.

When society was "simple" and "traditional" there were not many alternatives available. Education could concern its whole self with the past and it would function as a "conserving" or "perpetuating" agent.

When social systems changed under the impact of "worldwide revelations" in science and technology, in industrialisation and urbanisation, in economic and political affairs, in demographic and social structures, the function of education also changed. The school was expected not only to adapt itself to its rapidly changing environment but also to introduce change as being a "change agent". In order to perform this new function "educational systems have also changed more rapidly than ever before. But they have adapted all too slowly to the faster pace of events on the move all around them. The consequent disparity (taking many forms) between educational systems and their environments is the essence of the worldwide crisis in education" (1).

This explains the "dual role" of education. As pointed out by Brembeck, "the modern education has a most difficult dual role to play: that of preserving the good roots of the culture while planting new seeds that have the capacity to bear rich fruit in a rapidly changing society. Such an expectation calls for both skill and patience" (2).

The power of education as a "change agent"

The "modern" world has almost limitless faith in the power of education to change things. All educational institutions are expected to shape men and women, their personalities, characters, abilities and ideas in such a way that they become desired members of society. Great human and natural resources are being invested in education as a means of achieving "desirable" social and national goals. Although "desirability" is a very subjective criteria and the "desirables" have varied deeply through human history, some conception of what makes up "the good life" and "the good society" is always implicit in the objectives of any educational system. School has been expected to develop the "desired" changes in the behaviour of the people. However, contrary to this deep faith, the power of school as a "change agent" is limited so we cannot expect school to cure all the illnesses of society. But, as pointed out by Coombs, it is not completely powerless either. He says "an educational system and its students cannot be asked to do what society itself - and the government, by its incentive and prestige scales - is not prepared to do: to implement the proclaimed goals. At the most, education can be asked to refrain from reinforcing anti-development attitudes and choices. It can try in addition to keep one step ahead of society in this respect in an effort to accelerate the pace of social change and economic growth. But education by itself cannot take on the whole job of reforming society, its attitudes and its reward structures. Education is too much a creature of society and too much an expression of its society for this to be possible. Still, within these limits, an educational system is also its own creature and an expression of its own predelictions" (3). So, the question is not if school has any power or not

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because no matter how limited it is, school has some power. The degree of this power is determined by some internal and external variables. As pointed out by Dewey, "it is not whether the schools shall or shall not influence the course of future social life, but in what direction they shall do so and how. In some fashion or other, the schools will influence social life anyway. But they can exercise such influence in different ways and to different ends, and the important thing is to become conscious of these different ways and ends so that an intelligent choice may be made, and so that if opposed choices are made the further conflict may at least be carried on with understanding of what is at stake, and not in the dark" (4).

What should be done?

The following is the summary of my answers to questions asked in Mr Gaag's paper.

Similar questions have been asked for years by several people and different answers have been given depending on different guiding educational philosophies and the objectives behind them. The answers are varied and none are final or represent the "eternal truth".

Since there are not any "fixed" answers to the questions, it is safer to take into consideration the related contemporary discussions on the subject and to develop our opinions in regard to the related "common trends" that have been recognised in the educational systems of many countries.

The answers should, however, be taken into consideration as "assumptions".

1. What is the influence of the structure of the educational system?

1.1 Educational model

As opposed to changing their objectives from "élite class formation" to "democratisation", the "selective" structures of many educational systems have remained basically unchanged. The selective structure determines the terminal norms through general-versus-specialised schools (or programmes), the ways of selecting students among different curricula or types of schools and the selection from a larger number of students for promotion to the next class in school or for admission to the next successive level of schooling. The criteria of ability which are usually employed are school-marks, examination results and "intelligence" and achievement test scores used separately or in combination. These criteria however, are not independent of social background.

Selective systems aim at eliminating those who are unable to meet the standards. To allow the others to proceed or to channel them into different programmes creates unequalities because of the disproprotion of educational results according to the ethnic and socio-economic origins of the students. So, the selection procedures contain built-in barriers for children from less-privileged social backgrounds. The children of migrant workers with their irregular school attendance, socio-cultural and linguistic handicaps are the most vulnerable group in the system. Because of the disproportion of educational results according to ethnic and socio-cultural and economic origins of the students, the selective educational systems are not only against the objectives of "equity" but of "integration" too.

Introduction of 8-10 years compulsory education has not brought "equity" with it because "equal access to education is only a necessary - not a sufficient - condition for justice. Equal access is not equal opportunity. This must comprise equal chance of success" (5). But "selective structure" of an educational system which is basically belief that "intelligence", learning "capacities" and "capabilities" are mostly inherited, is the main obstacle to equal chance of success.

There is enough evidence to assume that low level of success or no success of the migrant workers' children creates some negative expectations, attitudes and discrimination against them. This causes inferiority feelings among the children of minority groups which in turn helps the development of minority "ghettos" with hostile behaviour towards native children and school and society as a whole. Consequently, realisation of the objectives of "integration" and "equity" becomes very difficult.

On the other hand, selective structures nourish a rather unhealthy spirit of competitiveness which is in contradiction with the objectives of "integration" and "inter-cultural education" such as solidarity, co-operation, mutual understanding and appreciation etc.

For these reasons (and others) when it comes to choosing between two basic options - restrictive selection or open admission - we must choose the latter which "more commonly finds favour" in the world (6).

1.2 Pre-school and compulsory education

The education of pre-school aged children is very important in realising the aims of "equity", "integration" and "inter-cultural education". It is an essential precondition to any educational and cultural policy. Broadening the base for primary education and lengthening the time spent at school would increase the educational possibilities and opportunities for all and develop "unity in diversity".

1.3 State responsibility

The educative responsibilities should chiefly rest on the public authorities and the state. This does not exclude the participation of parents, groups and localities into the educational decision-making processes and practices.

2. What pedagogical requirements should be borne in mind when introducing inter-cultural education?

2.1 Structure

Changes in the structure of educational systems mentioned above are the first requirement of inter-cultural education but they must be followed by:

2.2 School integration

Population composition of society must be reflected in population composition of school and classroom. In other words, school must be integrated in terms of socio-cultural ethnic background of its students.

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Naturally, there are several practical problems attached to this, but I think it is essential in the realisation of the objectives of "integration", "equity" and "inter-cultural education". The students learn more from each other than they learn from teachers. We cannot expect them to learn about each other if they are not given the opportunity to interact at school.

Integrated schools with their inter-cultural compositions could give us tremendous opportunities to develop mutual understanding and appreciation among the children of different groups and even among their parents if we are able to use those opportunities intelligently and consciously.

In practice, there is a tendency to establish separated classes and even schools for the children of different minority groups. This happens for many reasons unintentionally. Minority groups show a tendency to live in the same sections of towns and cities where they establish their ghettos; their children attend the same school as their playmates who are mostly from their groups and in many cases the school they attend is the only one in the vicinity. School administrators try to establish "homogeneous groups" in order to have classes composed of students with a similar level of readiness to learn. If a school becomes crowded with the children of minority groups, native parents feel uneasy and take their children to a different school and consequently, in time certain schools become special schools for a minority group and it is called by the name of this group (such as the "Turkish school") by the children and their parents. In some cases there are classes and/or schools which are established especially for migrant workers' children with the aim of educating them in such a way that they can adapt themselves to the cultures both of the receiving country and the country of origin (eg model classes or schools). I believe that the elimination of separated classes or schools which go against our educational objectives is another requirement or precondition of inter-cultural education.

2.3 School curriculum

Another group of pedagogical requirements of inter-cultural education is related to the school curriculum. The following "common trends" (7) in the area of curriculum could be used as guiding principles for inter-cultural education too.

- School curricula should be less burdensome. Variations in the programmes of primary schools should be lessened as far as possible and any kind of social discrimination in the programmes must be eliminated.

- Rigid distinction between different types of teaching - general, scientific, technical and professional - must be dropped and education, as from primary and secondary levels, must become theoretical, technical, practical and manual at the same time" (8) in order to give every child the possibility to develop his interests, capacities and capabilities before he is assigned to any special programme or school.

- Students in different programmes where these exist must be given the opportunity to come together and interact in extra-curricular activities.

- Inter-cultural exchange programmes such as music, folk dances and dramas should be arranged as much as possible. Parents and the people in the neighbourhood should be invited to these programmes and native food should

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be prepared by the parents and served there. These are tremendous opportunities which could be used effectively to bind people of different groups together and to develop mutual understanding and appreciation for cultural variations.

- Social anthropology can help us to develop our school curricula in respect of inter-cultural education.

2.4 Teacher training

Teachers should be trained in accordance with the "multicultured" character of society. They must be a good example of a "multicultured" person to their students. If they themselves have a deep appreciation and sensitivity towards the culture of minorities they can help their students to develop the same feeling. If they do not have such feelings they can increase disruption. This also applies to teachers of sending countries assigned to teach migrant workers' children.

3. What conditions should be fulfilled outside school?

As pointed out earlier, school cannot be thought of in isolation from the rest of society. If society itself is determined to eliminate any kind of discrimination, segregation or inequality among the people - no matter what their socio-cultural origins are - and supports mutual understanding, appreciation and tolerance for cultural variations through legal, economic, social and cultural actions, naturally, school can perform its role more adequately and effectively.

If we limit ourselves within the capacity of educational institutions we may talk about adult education. It goes without saying that the rising generations cannot be properly trained in an illiterate environment. Adult education can no longer be a "fringe sector" of educational activity in any society. If the parents of minority group children are not integrated in the society and if they live in their cultural ghettos, school cannot perform its role properly to integrate those children. Education is not the privilege of an élite or a particular age group. To be effective, education should concentrate on the entire population, children, parents and the community. School and out-of-school education must be linked firmly together.

4. Priorities

I do not think it is possible to set out priorities and criteria in selecting them in a way that they can meet the special conditions of each country. National and local conditions determine them.

On the other hand, a change in one sub-system of an educational system necessitates changes in the other related sub-systems.

With these two points in mind, I would say that structural changes, school integration, curriculum changes, pre-service and in-service training of teachers and adult education should be given priority in educational planning.

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The criteria in selecting the priorities should be chosen according to the urgency of the needs, the effectiveness of the programme to satisfy those needs and visible efficiency of programmes.

In order to minimise the costs and to maximise the efficiency of educational systems, the programmes aiming to use the existing facilities and the possibilities of the educational institutions should be preferred. For example, instead of planning to establish new institutions for adult education, the efficiency of their programmes can be increased and the existing facilities (buildings, laboratories, workshops, teachers and others) of formal education institutions can be used in the area of adult education through involving schools in adult education activities.

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3.3. Contribution of Professor P.hoebus Cotsapas, Athens College, Athens, Greece

As a good many questions have already been asked in the recent papers on the themes of the colloquy, it is purported here to suggest a realistic and pragmatic approach, "airing" some possible "answers".

1. Assumptions and one question

Firstly, however, certain assumptions (even as truisms) are deemed necessary.

a. There is a consensus that an ethnic and cultural symbiosis is both desirable and attainable. (Neverthless, all the good intentions and initiatives cannot honestly afford to underrate or play down, let alone ignore, variously expressed feelings regarding ethnic origin, colour or religion).

b. Within our changing society, the fundamental values of the European civilisation persist - and will continue to be cherished - while "new" values in respect of inter-cultural understanding and appreciation must be enunciated and disseminated. (Evidently, a policy of "live and let live" does not suffice. In the pluralistic and democratic Europe varied viewpoints are respected, and criticism is expected but abrupt upheavals cannot be tolerated while «brain washing» is abhored.)

c. «Migrant education» is an integral part of intercultural education - with the emphasis on mutual understanding and respect entailing communication and collaboration - operating within European-oriented national educational systems.

d. Second generation young migrants, despite their origin and upbringing, have much in common with the young of their host countries in the growing sub-culture of the younger generation. (They all need guidance, by advice and consent, but not indoctrination.)

e. The school, despite inherent limitations, is expected to contribute constructively to the cause of inter-cultural development. And the setting up of Project 7 proves the need for concerted action.

BUT, is the educational system of each country limited to these confines OR is it to "assimilate" the young migrant in integrated schools, while catering to his/her own ethnic and cultural values and needs, ultimately in the service of a United Europe of Nations? This, I submit, is the "final" question.

2. Objectives and implications

The very titles of this project and this colloquy, besides setting the objectives, clearly entail two implications:

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a. «The education and cultural development of migrants» (particularly of the second generation) should be examined in conjunction with that of the young in the host countries (in both cases within, without and beyond the school), as mutual understanding and respect implies a «two-way traffic».

b. «Multicultural Europe by the year 2000» inevitably and unquestionably leads to the view that education, both in the short- and long-term dimensions, must be directed to the future.

3. Guidelines and factors

Obviously these implications require certain guidelines as to ways and means for the realisation of the set objectives. These guidelines refer to the three factors involved, namely, the young migrant (and his "national" counterpart), the curriculum and the teacher.

a. As the verb to teach takes a double accusative (whom and what), the obvious starting point should be the "discovery" of the migrant, his/her attitudes, concerns and expectations. Besides studies by specialists, it seems most appropriate to secure the experience and advice of migrant leadership (teachers, social workers, trade unionists, journalists and the like) as well as of the consular and other services of their "mother" countries.

Moreover, the finding and practices of "melting pot" countries (such as USA, Canada, Australia, Brasil) might be utilised with real benefit.

On the other hand, the attitudes towards "aliens" and "migrants" of the young of the host countries especially in areas of high migrant concentration, should simultaneously be studied and documented.

b. The curriculum: In the light of the objectives and in view of the recognised educational and cultural needs, some clear and comprehensive guidelines must be formulated. Curriculum must be understood in its broad sense, embracing activities in and out and beyond the school. The focal point is to select and offer effectively the sort and manner of educational services likely to have the most and best impact. Needless to say, this is a complex and difficult task, made even worse by the exigencies of already crowded curricula. The services of specialised agencies (such as curriculum development centres, and pedagogical institutes) could well be secured to great advantage. Without belabouring the obvious, the field of social studies is the most appropriate for the "injection" of intercultural education. Much can be achieved by all sorts of complementary activities, like exhibits of arts and crafts (made by students), filmshows, "round table" sessions, visits and tourism.

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Of course, changes - modifications and adjustments - of the curriculum inevitably involve changes in educational organisation and administration, as well as the need for new social studies and other textbooks.

c. The teacher, as an educator and as opinion leader, will have to shoulder most of this work - or mission. BUT he needs help.

- Programmes for the initial or pre-service teacher education allow little room and time for additional courses. Yet, there must be room for at least an elementary orientation and introduction to inter-cultural education, especially by means of the philosophy and sociology of education. What matters most at this stage is the outlook and attitude of new teachers towards migrant education, eg equality of opportunity and parity of esteem are notions of cardinal importance.

- There is more room in the preparation of languages and social studies teachers. Also, a case can well be argued for the need for specialist teachers and advisers or inspectors for migrants. (The same applies in the case of teachers and officials dispatched by "mother" countries in the host countries.)

- Much more can of course be done in graduate studies or in-service training, particularly in the field of educational sociology with specific reference to the migrant education and culture. In addition teachers must be provided with opportunities for organised visits to the migrants' countries of origin.

- Teachers involved in adult or further education should be adequately trained. Ideally, such teachers are those from the ranks of the migrants, especially of the second generation.

- All told, teachers of migrant children, especially adolescents, need to become susceptible to and cognizant with their problems, concerns and aspirations. They must be able to encourage their pupils to assert their individuality, to be proud for their achievements and to feel at ease in their personal relationships with their peers of the host country. They should also try to minimise frustrations and maximise opportunities, while helping the young to confront confidently unpleasant but alterable situations, rather than conform slavishly or react rebelliously.

4. The role of the school - limitations and a challenge

The role of the school in the present and anticipated changing society should be properly assessed.

a. The school may well have become the only social institution capable of exerting a beneficial influence on the growing child. At its best, school education is an enterprise for which teachers and parents and the community are jointly accountable for whatever

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is best in humanity, in terms of dignity and freedom. It is or it can be made to become both a transmitter of the cultural heritage AND an agency for social and cultural progress. The contradiction here is only an apparent one, because the prevailing value system upheld and served by the school, includes the fostering of a person's self-determination and the development of his critical abilities, ie learning to think rationally and constructively for oneself.

b. BUT, admittedly, it has limitations, namely, two:

i. While the school cannot remain aloof from actual social controversies, it can neither plunge into them. It can ill-afford to be waylaid by social or political slogans or divisions - for obvious reasons. It does inform and educate.

The school and the teacher are here to serve society (and its widely accepted values); neither to disturb it nor to protect it from change. (Do we need to be reminded of the young turned into fanatical anthropoids in totalitarian regimes?)

Teachers may have enthusiasm and zeal but what of the required expertise and wisdom to grasp total socio-political situations and their implications and complications? They are certainly in a position of authority but can hardly pose as authorities in the whole gamut of the arts and sciences. Thus they have to tread cautiously and to transgress their bounds of competence.

ii. The school in our contemporary world has to contend with various social forces, often antagonistic, for the attention of its "clientele". The influence of the mass media, the lure of fads and fashions, the excitements of mass entertainment and the wilful glorification of the so-called generation gap, all within the hustle and bustle of our modern urban living are powerful rivals, whereas the school's traditional allies are waning. Teachers often feel a sense of helplessness, if not hopelessness, in the face of so much they have to cope with in the exercise of their pedagogical tasks. Therefore, it is barely realistic to expect too much from the school, namely, in Mr van der Gaag's apt words (DECS/EGT (82) Misc. 47, 20 July 1982), «to bring about mutual understanding, to eliminate discrimination, to safeguard the cultural identity of minority groups ...».

c. Yet, all these considerations pose a real challenge. As education and related sciences develop better methods of investigation, as modern technology provides more effective gadgetry and as the community of European Nations becomes more determined to forge ahead for a multinational and multicultural united continent, the role of the school will be strengthened and its contribution enhanced. Once the priorities are ordered and the strategies for their implementation are decided, the effectiveness of the school will depend more and more on the ability, the know-how and the dedication of the teachers.

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5. Proposals

On the strength of the assumption and in the context of the «aired answers», it is submitted that the way to the year 2000 should be paved with the following measures:

a. Each host country must be encouraged to continue and improve their own ways and means of fostering and furthering «the educational and cultural development of migrants» in and out of the school, preferably in consultation and with the co-operation of the «mother» countries, by:

- promoting mutual understanding and respect,
- prospective short- and long-term planning, and
- sharing experience and exchanging information.

b. A European Institute of Intercultural Education should be created to co-ordinate the desired concerted action. It will be a centre for:

- documentation of all relevant programmes, studies and activities in both the host and the "mother" countries,
- exchange and dissemination of information and findings, and
- inter-country research and an all-country meeting place.

N.B. It is perhaps worth looking into the possibilities of utilising the methods of futurology with regard to planning, and the techniques of advertising with regard to propagating the aims of intercultural education.

3.4. Contribution of Mr. Walo Hutmacher, Département de l'Instruction Publique, Genève, Service de la recherche sociologique

On a couple of pages, only some arguments or questions can be put forward. I shall do both concentrating on the theme of multi-culturalism of the school in the year 2000. The general argument is that culture (anthropologically: the definition and the social construction of reality) is always a central matter at stake in the interplay between groups, classes, nations, regions, etc. I am conscious that, doing this, I adopt the stand point of devil's advocate.

1. Nations and regions

The idea of a multi-cultural conception of the school emerges (or re-emerges?) at a moment where migrations of a rare amplitude have subverted the demographical structures of the north European countries, involving major changes from the point of view of the cultural and national homogeneity.

Considerations about the consequences of this situation, especially for the school system, have too often identified nationality with cultural specificity. There is little doubt about the reality of what is called

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«national characters» or national «habitus» (1), ie specific tendencies of people originating from different countries, to perceive, think, feel, act and evaluate in a large range of life situations (work, family, leisure, friendship, social relations, men-women relations, place of children and education, etc).

But at the same time, within the countries, important regional differences continue to exist. In Spain, eg people consider they are Andalousians, Galicians, Catalanians or Basques before or at least at the same time as being Spanish. This also reflects in a process of regional differenciation at the political level which has already taken place on other modalities in Italy for instance. Even in countries where the modern state - particularly through the school system - has succeeded in establishing the pre-eminence of a so-called national language, regional idioms reappear and «rehabilitate» as parts and forms of the regional identity and difference in the same time.

In the interplay with regionalistic and centrifugal tendencies the central states (however centralised they are) as far as they can, maintain strategies towards linguistic and cultural homogenisation and the constitution and/or reproduction of a feeling of national identity.

A large proportion of migrants who move (or have moved) from southern to northern Europe come from the rural or semi-rural areas of their country where the process of cultural homogenisation connected with modernisation is less advanced. They are on the whole more profoundly rooted in regional specificities. To take language as an example again: in a Galician family the current language is not Spanish (Castilian) nor in a Catalanian one.

The way in which immigration countries take into account the «home-culture» of their immigrants is a matter of bi-lateral negotiations between immigration and emigration countries. These are conducted by representatives or agencies of the central states and the courses in «home-language or culture» are organised by or conceived with agencies of the central state of the emigration country (embassies and consulates). The way in which they conceive these courses will be in relation with the strategies they pursue in their own country: the language and the culture which will be proposed will be of the «national» variety in accordance with the interests of the central state in the realm of cultural and linguistic homogenisation.

This particular articulation between nations and regions and the fact that inter-national relations are the exclusive competence of central states, explain that in a large number of cases the culture and language courses for immigrants are not or only partly those of their real origin. It also explains that some migrants or migrants' children are confronted not with two, but with four to five different languages:

- the regional variety of their parents or the two varieties if they do not originate from the same region or country,
- the national variety of their home country,
- the regional variety of the area where they immigrate,
- the national variety of their immigration country.

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(1) We adopt this concept from Pierre Bourdieu, Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique, Droz, Genève, 1972.

To this may add the variety which has been sometimes called «immigrants' pidgin».

The pedagogical argument, laudable in itself, of respecting and enforcing the original cultural identity of the immigrant child which is at the root of the idea of a multi-cultural school, may well rest on false premises because the language and the culture proposed are not really the original ones.

2. School culture, class culture

Culture never can be reduced to the sole linguistic code which is itself embedded in a system of modes of perceiving, feeling and thinking which inform the various practices in a particular group. Given the historical vocation of the school, its direct association with modernism and the social project which it expresses and embodies, the culture it diffuses and therewith legitimates is necessarily selective in any country (immigration as well as emigration countries). Taking the linguists' terminology one might speak in terms of «varieties of cultures». The school's variety is one of them in any situation, by definition. At a number of levels of the construction to the material and social «reality», the cultural particularities of the immigrants will be granted entrance neither to the school nor to the courses in home culture. For example, a certain number of "superstitions", quasi-magic thinking of practices, religious beliefs or the characteristic relations between men and women or adults and children which in the eyes of the urbanised citizen of the highly industrialised areas often appear as "retarded", "scandalous" or even "barbarous".

At school, the respect of the original cultural identity has its precise limits. In any case, the contents which, with controlled methods, are legitimately taught and their weighting in terms of time and space are (or have been) objects of long debate. This very well means that they are not all taken for granted by everybody. The issue of these conflicts generally consists in a compromise, the nature of which depends on the power relations between groups and agencies participating in the negotiations. As representatives of the culture, teachers and generally actors of the school system play an important part. The migrants, at least those who are in the position of manual workers hardly participate; they share the same situation as the other underprivileged fractions of society.

The absence, in the school context, or the scarcity of references to the specific life-conditions of working class families have been underlined a number of time, namely through the content analyses of the reading books and other texts used in classrooms. This in only one of the indicators of a far more general characteristic of the culture which is valorised at school: its selectivity in regard to the cultural specificities of the different social classes, in other words its cultural and social bias.

Today it is a current hypotheses that, through a multiplicity of daily experiences and interactions, within schools and classrooms and without, this selectivity plays a major role in the production of social inequality of school results and therewith in the process of selective redistribution of unequal social situations.

Massive migrations towards the urban and industrialised centres are not a new feature in the economic and demographic history of European countries. What has been, somewhat euphemically, called the land-flight already contributes to the same trend since a number of decades. The novelty consists mainly in the fact that in a general context where the effects of nationality are highly structured (languages, labour markets, economies, etc are considered national), migrations have become international (1). But the migrants moving from the village to the town within countries already had to submit themselves to a process of deculturation/reculturation, mainly at school. The success of this partial «re-education» is measured by the school in its own standards of excellence.

Three questions:

1. Will the school culture in the year 2000 be less biased from the point of view of the social cleavages within the nations? This would constitute a considerable step towards social equality at school. Under which social, political and economic conditions would such an evolution be possible?

2. Will the multi-cultural project of the school in the year 2000 remain as biased as it appears today from the point of view of regional and social differences? Its major (positive) effect would then be to secure the potential mobility between emigration and immigration countries (for the case of a return to the home country, voluntary or constrained) and to facilitate the reinsertion of the former migrants in their home country. One might then read the project of multi-cultural school as a means of «pre-socialising» the migrants for the case of their return.

3. Is this perhaps the major aim pursued? One could suspect it, considering that the idea of the multi-cultural school remains in the discussion although the migrations have become less massive and will tend to reduce still more with the aggravation of the economic recession, the increase of unemployment and the tendency of the European secondary sector to export plants rather than import labour forces.

Again, these are arguments of the devil's advocate which take into account the sociological analysis of the position of the school in the realm of cultural change conducted by the modern states. It is not necessary to imagine any machiavellian thinking from the part of any actors. Unexpected secondary and sometimes «perverse» effects are often produced within social systems. Recognising them in time may incite (or not) to change the strategies (or the aims).

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(1) cf. Walo Hutmacher, Migrations, production et reproduction de la société, in A Gretler et al, «Etre migrant», Lang, Berne, 1981.

3.5. Report of the Working Group

Chairman: Mr L VAN DER GAAG (Netherlands)

Rapporteur: Mr Edo POGLIA (Switzerland)

Members: Mr Sudi BÜLBÜL (independent expert) (Turkey)
Mr Phoebus COTSAPAS (independent expert) (Greece)
Mrs Marie-Claire ROSIERS (Belgium)
Mrs Marja IHTO (Finland)
Mr Horst JANSEN (Federal Republic of Germany)
Mr Paolo D'ALESSANDRO (Italy)
Mr Bertil JAKOBSSON (Sweden)

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The role of schools in a changing society

1. A preliminary remark: the title of the colloquy refers to the year 2000, that of the working party implies that schools play and will play a fundamental part in the development of society. However, the remarks made by the working party's members were extremely cautious regarding the future; no one ventured to engage in long-term or even medium-term forecasting. Furthermore, several emphasised that the role of schools as a means of transmitting or creating new skills, knowledge and values, and hence its impact on social change, should not be overestimated (on the other hand, the importance of the mass media was recalled).

Are this «modesty» and this refusal to embark on long-term forecasting and planning the result of the uncertainty into which the present economic situation is plunging us? Moreover, the poor economic situation was the background to several questions dealt with by the working party. This was the case with the educational problems raised by the greater mobility of migrants (as in Belgium, for example); it was also the case with the increasing problems of reintegration in the country of origin (eg migrants who returned there, sometimes, after twenty or thirty years' residence abroad). It is also the economic situation which, according to some participants, sometimes imposes choices concerning measures in favour of migrant children etc.

2. Immigrant culture; a view of the mind? The question of values transmitted by schools

2.1 The reference in the colloquy's title to «immigrant culture» is based on the assumption that it is no longer justifiable to set the host country's culture against the culture of the country of origin, partly because the present culture of migrants is no longer that of the country of origin but has not been assimilated by that of the host country. Migrant groups, it is said, have developed a culture (values, symbols, ways of living etc) which is specific to them and corresponds to their present situation (uncertainty, mobility, a certain marginalisation). Nobody categorically disputed this assumption, but the whole discussion developed as though the assumption was untrue and as though there was still a culture of origin corresponding to that of countries of origin.

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2.2 This was particularly apparent with regard to the question of the values which schools are supposed to transmit to pupils. The question was as follows: «Interculturalism implies that schools should take over and transmit to pupils, both local-born and immigrant, values of immigrants' culture. However, what should schools do if some of these values are in contradiction to the fundamental values of the host country's culture? (eg principle of equality between girls and boys, hence co-education, in contrast to certain «religious rules»).

Not without some hesitation, the working party inclined towards host countries' values and some participants pointed out that in western Europe there were values (democracy, freedom, equality etc) on which no compromise was possible.

3. Interculturalism: a calling in question?

The question of schools' main objectives in relation to migrant children was raised, or, to be precise, the question of whether the following three objectives:

- equality of educational opportunity (equity),
- integration,
- protection of cultural identity (often confused with culture of origin)

should be placed on an equal footing or whether priorities should be allocated.

Some participants were firmly in favour of the first objectives being regarded as essential; this means that resources (inter alia, financial ones) should be supplied to schools as a matter of priority so that they can try to remedy the present situation (less successful migrant children, young foreigners with inferior vocational training who have more difficulty in finding work etc).

The same participants also considered that the equalisation of educational and vocational equity necessitated an increased effort of integration but that some activities designed to protect cultural identity had the opposite effect.

A minority of the working party were nevertheless anxious to retain all three objectives and thought that, generally speaking, the assertion of migrants' own culture («migrant culture» rather than «culture of origin») was not incompatible with the achievement of the aims of equality and integration.

4. Teacher training is fundamental, but ...

No one disputed that teachers play an essential part in intercultural strategies and in the strategy aimed at equity.

Nevertheless:

a. It is not certain that an improvement at this level can easily be achieved merely through the inclusion of problems concerning migrant children initial and/or in-service training of teachers.

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This is necessary, but it should not be forgotten that the aim is not only to provide them with teaching skills and techniques; it is also to sensitise them at a deep level of their personalities (relations with others, tolerance).

b. In schools there are not only teachers but also headmasters, educational advisers, psychologists and even caretakers. All these people need to be sensitised. In practice, efforts should be made to foster the development in each school of a «resource centre» (eg a group of teachers, a counsellor etc) which can help and advise teachers and school staff on all matters concerning migrants.

On the other hand, the idea of creating specialist teaching posts for migrants was rejected unanimously. That of increasing the impact of welfare services for migrant pupils had both supporters and opponents.

5. Methodological questions

One thing was certain in the group: if teachers are to be able to deal positively with their migrant pupils, it is essential that they should have a certain amount of autonomy in their methods and timetables and should not therefore be bound by excessively rigid syllabuses. Needless to say, the present trend towards the individualisation of teaching methods cannot but be beneficial to migrant children.

Furthermore, the educational quality of host countries' schools and that of «language and culture courses» of countries of origin would increase if deep and close contacts were established between local and foreign teachers.

6. A «practical» proposal

Throughout the discussion it was clear that there was a lack of information and flow of documentation concerning problems, experience, innovation, thinking and research on the education of migrants.

The working party considered that an institution should be set up at European level to handle these functions on a permanent basis.

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4. Theme III : The educational consequences of migrant culture

4.1. Introduction by Professor Louis Porcher

4.1 Second generation migrants, particularly adolescents, are building up before our eyes a new culture of their own which is no longer quite the same as that of the host country. As a sociological and historical phenomenon this has crucial implications for all reflection on migration.

However, we must define clearly this «migrant culture» which is now present in all the host countries (and which also affects - though in different ways - the countries of origin), if we wish to contribute to the development of a genuinely intercultural approach. For the moment, little is known about this new culture, intensely experienced though it is, which is a basic concern of most migrants' associations.

For this reason, a collective analysis of the phenomenon, with the assistance of specialists, would be most useful and could in particular provide an opportunity for considering some of the following questions:

1. What are the basic features of this «migrant culture»? Whom does it concern?

2. To what main practices does it give rise?

3. Does it have implications for migrants' attitudes towards school systems?

4. Ought it to prompt school systems to change, or to modify some of their practices?

5. What measures ought to be promoted in order to assist the development of this culture?

4.2. Contribution by Xavier Couillaud, Institute of Education, University of London, United Kingdom

Starting from Professor Louis Porcher's statement and questions, it does seem necessary to «define clearly this 'migrant culture' which is now present in all the host countries».

At what level of generalisation can we discuss a prospective view of the future? There is a great danger in making generalisations about a new «migrant culture» for several reasons:

1. The «migrant culture» presumably includes the changing cultures of the migrant generations and the new emerging cultures of their offspring in the so called «host» countries.

   Using the plural for cultures above is of course necessary to distinguish between the different countries of E-migration. Moreover for each migrant population the «culture» of the homeland has a specific relationship to the country of IM-migration in question, eg Algerians in France as compared to Algerians in the UK.

2. Using the term «migrant» to refer to members of our European societies suggests the same inevitable homeland orientation as does the term «second generation» migrants or simply «second generation».

   They are not appropriate terms any more because most migrants, regardless of their official level and political status, have settled (even if they still talk of returning home). This should be one of the basic assumptions for the multicultural Europe of the year 2000 and should be clearly reflected in the way we discuss the issue.

   These terms were never appropriate for the generation of immigrants to the UK and Sweden.

   Nor are they appropriate for children born to immigrants parents of both above-mentioned categories settled in the «host» country, and whose education alongside their indigenous peers is our concern for the 20 years to come.

3. The concept of «culture» only makes sense when it is contextualised. We need to look at the social processes produced by economic and political determinants in each of the contexts we study.

4. Both adult immigrants and their offspring are not only adjusting their cultural «baggage» to the new context in which they find themselves. They are reacting to this context, which is itself influenced by their very presence.

   For example the concept of «immigrés» which emerged in France has influenced both institutional and personal relations to the wide variety of ethnic groups concerned. This general and usually derogatory term implied:

   a. a lack of recognition of the distinctive cultural backgrounds of the different groups. In this way their social status was reduced to their socio-economic role.

   b. an overall assimilationist approach to the education of children of immigrants which assumed a one way process of adaptation to the dominant culture (in fact the dominant middle class sub-culture).

   Overtime the experience of common disadvantages and an increasing awareness of these dominant conceptions of the situation have led more and more children of immigrants from very different cultural backgrounds to share a common identification with this «culture immigrée».

   But the development of this wider sense of belonging in reaction to the treatment of the «host» society is often accompanied by a strengthening of a more specific identification with their particular sub-«culture»: eg «immigré» in France AND of Algerian or Portuguese origin.

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Both adults and their offspring are members of subordinate minorities whose options are restricted by the institutional and cultural processes of the dominant «culture». Any understanding of the basic features of these new emerging cultures demands an analysis of the way the power imbalance between «cultures» in contact influences perceptions of cultural distinctiveness from both sides.

5. Besides the competing interests of dominant and subordinate cultural systems, any one "culture" consists of sub-systems. It is the new emerging sub-cultures of minority adolescents which are our main concern for the future. These sub-cultures are a product of the interaction between the youngsters' socio-economic position and their access and participation in the dominant and subordinate cultures of the particular context in which they grow up. While the media and the school system may reinforce certain features of the dominant value systems, there are competing counter-«cultures» of indigenous peers such as the worlds of «pop» and «punk». It is therefore necessary to look at the constraints of the local social and economic structure on the networks of adolescents.

6. Although every context we look at may show different cultural processes, it may be possible to highlight some common features of these processes.

7. Research about indigenous youth movements and minority adolescents are fundamentally enquiring about the impact of the school in the overall socialisation and education of children.

   What are the other institutions which are providing similar or competing functions such as the media of the community-run school?

   What influence does the family maintain as the child grows older, and is the influence of the peer group particularly strong at particular ages thus lessening the traditional role of the school and urging the education system to alter its strategies?

8. Understanding the educational implications of the new emerging cultures involves an understanding of the total social reality of the pupil. This means appreciating the disjunction experienced by minority pupils - and how they manage to adjust to relationships between peers, home and school, or between community and state schools for example.

   It also involves an understanding of the social reality and perceptions of pupils from the dominant ethnic group.

9. These points set out the view that the notion of a «migrant culture» is inadequate for an analysis of the situation of children of immigrants and detracts attention from similar cultural and social processes experienced by their indigenous peers of similar socio-economic backgrounds.

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Intercultural processes - be they inter- or intra-cultural - are features of all social systems. This is especially the case in rapidly changing and highly differentiated social structures in urban industrialised settings: in these settings inter-generation conflicts and a questioning of the values underlying a consumer and technological society are on the increase.

10. The main educational implication of this situation is for teachers to become more aware of the socio-cultural context in which their pupils are growing up. Through training, teachers can learn to encourage them to express and make sense of their own social and cultural experiences and to facilitate their self-development in original ways.

This would provide a basis for intercultural education which fosters mutual understanding and counters social prejudice and racism.

This perspective also means that intercultural education for the Europe of the year 2000 will progressively develop the following features:

a. closer liaison between school and leisure organisations;

b. greater collaboration between parents and teachers;

c. development of principles which facilitate community schooling and encourage the participation of <u>all</u> sections of the local community in the activities of the school.

11. In the future our multicultural society and complex economic systems will demand increasing flexibility from the school system in preparing pupils for adult life. Intercultural education will have to be planned throughout life as part of a continuing developmental process of the individual in a changing and complex society.

Educators will need to study more and more the various political and social interpretations of "cultural pluralism" and related fields such as political and social anthropology, sociology and economics.

12. One of the domains which should become more and more important in intercultural education is the sociolinguistic dimension of intercultural communication.

In terms of teacher training and curriculum development this means further exploration of:

a. the relationship between language, culture and social structure;

b. the relationship between linguistic and conceptual development in the particular case of the bilingual child;

c. the relationship between language awareness and use and identity development.

4.3. Contribution of M. F. Debyser, Bureau pour l'enseignement de la langue et de la civilisation française à l'étranger (BELC), Paris, France

Envisaging the foreseeable - or desirable - educational consequences of changes in "migrant cultures" (the plural is mandatory) is difficult for a number of reasons.

a. It has to take account of:

1. Changes in the host societies;

2. Changes in their education systems;

3. Changes in the cultures of migrant communities or communities of migrant origin;

4. Changes in the cultures of countries of origin; and

5. Changes in migration flows.

Any statement which overlooked one of these variables would probably be wide of the mark, and this not only provides a framework for any research in this sphere but makes an interdisciplinary approach essential.

b. Forecasting or planning moreover presupposes knowledge of the present state of affairs; such a survey of the current scene, however, largely remains to be made in respect of some of these variables, particularly as regards item 3 - how can the future of migrant cultures be pictured when people in Europe have only now come to notice that such cultures exist and to consider their nature and identity after years of preoccupation with "cultures of origin"? Such a survey, as L Porcher maintains in his introductory text, is a prerequisite of any speculation about the future.

1. Changes in the host societies

The political, economic, social, cultural and hence ideological changes in the host societies will have a determining influence on the multicultural identity they are already assuming.

It is clear that neither policy measures not militancy nor even the slow shift in attitudes in favour of cultural pluralism will have as much effect on resistance to or acceptance of "cultural difference" as cyclical pressures, such as the economic situation, the labour market, purchasing power etc of the resident population in receiving countries, including earlier immigrants (this has been seen elsewhere - in the United States, for example).

Speaking generally, it can reasonably safely be postulated that only those societies which are willing to seek progressive solutions to the difficulties of being multicultural will have any chance of resolving these difficulties in anything like a satisfactory manner.

It may, however, be hoped that since industrialised countries are already multicultural de facto, the need to come to terms with the fact will give rise not only to difficulties but also to a greater capacity to adapt and find solutions.

Another favourable factor which should be noted is the increasing recognition - both by individuals and by institutions - of regional cultural identities within the host communities: this can only encourage greater acceptance of the "external cultural differences" and may in general contribute to solidarity between the different cultural groups.

Consequently, anything which can be done in schools and through the education system to promote this awareness and - since we are talking about "values" - to enhance the value of "identities" can only help in getting accepted as normal what was until very recently the concern only of militants and in making awareness of differences commonplace instead of, as is still often the case, the problem of difference being based on an underlying assumption that "it is the other person who is different".

If, finally, the transition is to be made from mere recognition of the multicultural fabric of society in the host countries to a de jure multicultural society, the groups concerned will have to have the resources and political rights to impose such recognition without having to rely on other authorities to act as sponsors or intermediaries or in a general way on the sometimes doubtful willingness of the host societies.

The fact that in France the vast majority of migrants' children have, or will have, French nationality and will therefore be full citizens in their own right nullifies the hair-splitting about the boundaries between social rights, rights of association and political rights, by giving them the power they have not so far had of taking direct action themselves and if necessary fighting their own battles.

2. Changes in education systems

The success or failure of mass education and, for example, the success or failure of the measures proposed in France for improving education in secondary schools or vocational training will continue to affect primarily the children of migrants.

Measures taken to promote the teaching of migrants' home countries' languages and cultures - and the effectiveness with which these measures are implemented - will likewise be a determining factor.

The implementation of reforms in schools must also be closely monitored so that the dysfunctions, injustices and inequalities which they are designed to reduce - and which inevitably penalise migrants' children more than any other socio-cultural category - do not reappear in new guises. "Dustbin" classes must not, for example, in cases where children are taught in ability groups, be replaced by "dustbin" groups of weaker pupils, a procedure which would serve only to disperse and mask careers of failure.

Lastly, the advent of new educational technology, such as computers and telematics, can - depending on how its introduction into the school is conceived and carried out - be as much an advantage to migrants' children as a handicap. Here too vigilance is necessary if claims that these new technologies are innovatory and less productive of inequality than traditional educational equipment, are to be substantiated.

3. Changes in the cultures of migrant communities or communities of migrant origin

It seems essential that the changes under way in "migrant cultures" should be closely observed and that the epistemological and methodological wherewithal which is currently lacking should be developed in order to study them, since without it reference - of dubious value - can be made

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only to changes which have occurred at other times and in other circumstances (eg changes of attitude from the first to the second and then the third generation of migrants in North American society - these are observations which are worth knowing about, but there is nothing to show that they have the status of sociological laws of change in migrant societies).

The table proposed by A J F Köbben in doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, "Identity and Culture", seems a good example of a tool usable for longitudinal studies.

Particularly close attention needs to be paid to changes and differences in relation to cultures of origin in areas such as family relations, group relations, relations between the sexes, the status of women and girls, relations with knowledge and education, religion, etc.

4. Changes in the cultures of countries of origin

Nor should the sustained study of changes in "migrant cultures" ever be isolated from the study of changes in society in the countries of origin, or else we shall rapidly slip into an ideologically suspect and scientifically inaccurate contrast between, on the one hand, culture of origin = tradition and, on the other, migrant culture = change: it is not just in Europe that the status of Arab women and girls is undergoing change or being called in question.

Moreover, changes in the societies of countries of origin will have consequences other than those which can currently be foreseen, particularly as regards changes in the image migrants' children will have of these societies, for example as regards their countries' prestige and the practical possibilities of returning to them. The interest which these countries may or may not take in the minorities which come from them will also be of great importance. This last point also has educational implications, suggesting in particular that intercultural education must not be confined to presenting a traditional picture but that the presentation of a changing society in countries of origin must be all the more updated as there will be a natural temptation to cling to past images of them.

5. Changes in migration flows

As the economic crisis has virtually halted migration without, however, encouraging migrants to return to their countries of origin, particular attention is being paid today to the major problem of the second generation, which seems destined to remain in the host countries.

This is not an irreversible situation, however, and migration flows may resume, although it is not possible to say at present how or in what direction.

Educational implications

There are too many points which are hypothetical or which call for information that is still lacking - particularly as regards the realities of migrant cultures - for one to be able to make detailed recommendations.

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A number of points which have emerged above may, however, be picked out and a number of principles be deduced from them which emphasise the need to:

1. continue work on intercultural education for all children, including those belonging to the host society;

2. prepare all teachers, from their initial training onwards, for such teaching, and not only those who have or are thought likely to have classes with a high proportion of migrant children;

3. give all migrant children access to the language and culture of their of their countries of origin, without making such study compulsory;

4. apply the logic of learner-centred teaching with all its consequences by making "second-generation" children the subject of intercultural teaching or lessons on cultures of origin rather than the object of such teaching (ie being merely on the receiving end);

5. make intercultural education - to that end - a matter of teaching expression and communication, from individual or interpersonal expression to group communication, notably through the media; and

6. prepare the second generation, to that end, to make their own contributions to discussions about their situation and future.

4.4. Contribution of Yngve Georg Lithman, University of Stockholm
Swedish Commission on Immigration Research (EIFO), Sweden

Migrant culture - the plurality of issues

There are certain words which are indispensable in discussions of migrants and their children. I am referring to such concepts as culture, identity, pluralism, integration, etc. It appears, however, that we are on the verge of getting entangled by a communication problem. This problem is outwardly defined by the very different meanings we imply in our use of many of our standard concepts. Inwardly, if the expression is permitted, I think our problem is related to some of the features of the situations we are trying to analyse. By this I mean, that in several ways the contemporary European migration has a number of fluid features which make it very difficult to use our customary conceptual tools without reservations and refinements. It might, eg, not be very problematic to use the concept of culture in a study of more stable socio-cultural situations and then include only the most cursory discussion of the concept (and this discussion may even be implicit in the text). The leeway we are granted in more routine-like endeavours of our sciences is considerably more narrow in the context of European migration.

From the perspective of an anthropologist, I think a discussion of how a more narrow use of the concept of culture could be arrived at is highly important. At the present its very inclusiveness lacks theoretical distinction and leaves unexplained its relation to human action. By this

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latter, I mean that when we explain behaviour in terms of Greek culture, Gypsy culture or Swedish culture, we do in fact regard humans as humanoids (to use a science-fiction term), as automats, where there is a one-to-one relationship between a «moral order» and people's actions. The fallacy of this approach is particularly serious when we deal with a category of people for whom choice between different sets of actions are so prominently a part of social life. It should also be added that in many contexts where concepts like «Turkish culture», «Greek culture», etc are used, attention is more often than not directed to them for us, the people of the receiving countries, more spectacular - in the sense of being apart from us - aspects of life. The whole gamut of everyday life is seldom subsumed under these kinds of labels.

Clifford Geertz, prominent in the theory of culture field, warns explicitly of presuming neatness and integration when doing cultural analysis: «The problem of cultural analysis is as much a matter of determining independencies as inter-connections, gulfs as well as bridges. The appropriate image ... of cultural organisation, is neither the spider web nor the pile of sand. It is rather more the octupus, whose tentacles are in large post separately integrated, neutrally quite poorly connected with one another and with what in the octopus passes for a brain, and yet who nonetheless manages to get around and to preserve himself, for a while anyway, as a viable, if somewhat ungainly entity».

I think that this statement is very timely to us, students of the European migration. It means, for one thing, that the image of migrant children as «between two cultures» becomes problematic. If we have to dispel of the more unproblematic conception of culture as static, well-defined entities, how do we save the concept of culture - indispensable as it is? I suggest that Keesing's view of culture as a «system of knowledge» is very helpful. It also appears useful, as Keesing does, to distinguish between competence and performance, where culture as a system of competence would be what is shared «in its broad design and deeper principles» (Keesing 1974:89).

For the individual actor, this way of looking at culture means that culture is his theory of what his fellows know, believe and mean. Put differently, in interactionist terms, culture to the actor would have the form of «I know that you know that I know».

By culture as knowledge, knowledge is naturally not to be perceived in a limited but rather in an inclusive fashion, as ideas, perceptions, ideals, expectations values.

The line of reasoning indicated above can be described in the following model of cultural incorporation processes:

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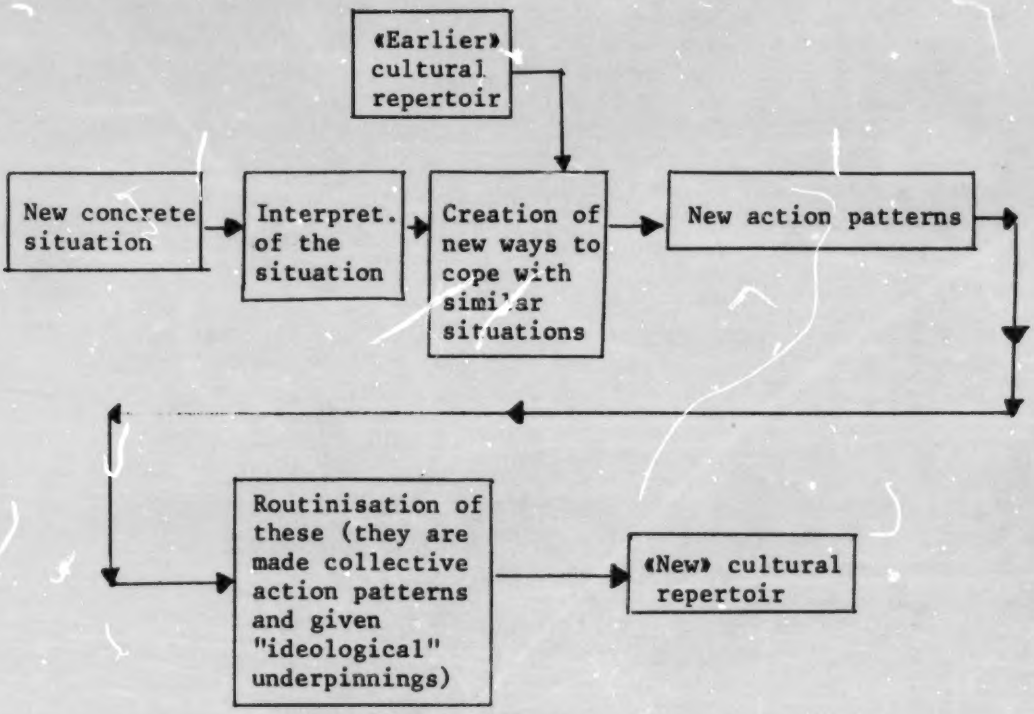
«Earlier» cultural repertoir
New concrete situation
Interpret. of the situation
Creation of new ways to cope with similar situations
New action patterns
Routinisation of these (they are made collective action patterns and given "ideological" underpinnings)
«New» cultural repertoir

This approach certainly does not make it any easier to define a migrant culture, but it does permit us to point at some of the crucial factors influencing the culture-building processes. In particular, attention should be given to the «opportunity situation» of the migrants and the second generation, as well as to the interaction where experiences are being shared and strategies are developed and cultural routinisation takes place. With this perspective, the following more specific points can be made, addressing themselves to the more specific questions posed by Prof Porcher:

1. The future European migrant culture will be many and varied cultures.

2. Although the empirical foundation for a detailed analysis is not yet at hand, I think it is possible to talk about a «generalised immigrant identity» (Lithman 1981) among some second generation immigrants. What I mean by this is that some second generation immigrants have difficulties in making their parents' ethnic identity their own, and at the same time they cannot perceive themselves as «Swedes». The result is that they, together with other immigrant children in the same situation, develop an identity based on being immigrant rather than being a hyphenated or un-hyphenated Swede. I think it is possible to show which the difficulties are to assume their parents' ethnic identity - in one sense, the main problem is a lack of a sufficiently developed

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social-situational framework for this culture-building exercise. I think it is also possible to show why an identity as a «Swede» is not developed - an important common feature often being the front raised by say the Swedish children in a school class against children with immigrant background. In a sense, then, the generalised immigrant identity is the «belonging togetherness» of the outsiders, where the outsidership is turned into interaction where knowledge is produced which serves to define the parties to the interaction. And this knowledge is different from that of their parents and from that of their Swedish classmates.

3. It is obvious, that in a situation like this, equal treatment might simply mean that the immigrant category will be given a very disfavourable position for the future.

4. If the migrant cultures might vary considerably, and therefore many reasons might be difficult for the migrant youth/second generation to achieve a reasonable position in the host country, it will be impossible to find panacea-type of solutions. Instead, decision-makers, teachers, parents, and others, must be able to cope with the emerging situations on the basis of an understanding of cultural and social processes, rather than relying on centrally issued directives or unreflected «conventional wisdom».

4.5. Contribution of M. A. de Wasseige, Ministry of the French-speaking community, Belgium

THEIR CULTURE?

"There should be a place for their cultures in schools." These words have been used many times in recent years by teachers who are aware of the gulf between what they are required to teach and the experience of the "immigrant" children in their classes, and between the cultural universe in which they, the teachers, grew up and did their studies, and the family environment in which these children "from other countries" are growing up in their turn.

The same words are heard from the lips of professional and volunteer "cultural workers" in neighbourhoods, youth centres and permanent education groups, who throw discredit upon an education system which marginalises immigrants and channels them into the lowest sections of the educational hierarchy. When both groups express a desire to see "immigrants' cultures" accepted in schools, they assume that this covers everything. The phrase "their culture(s)" is reckoned to obviate the need to say anything else, since "culture is all-embracing".

But what if this apparently appropriate statement was merely a general conscience-salving formula enabling teachers and cultural workers to avoid defining what they mean by "their" culture and their own? As though immigrants' culture was simply something so remote in space (after all, nearly all immigrants come from at least 2,000 km from Europe, if not 3,500 or 4,000 km) and in history that it can be defined only as something "far away" or "belonging to the distant past" ...

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Are not constant references to "their" culture as something totally remote yet another attempt to protect oneself, since quite clearly there is "our" culture and there is "theirs" ... Are they not an attempt to dismiss a culture that is continuing to develop no longer in far distant times and places but here and now before our very eyes (in schools) and in our midst (in the neighbourhoods)? Are they not an attempt to deny or reject the fact that immigration has a history that will play a vital part in remodelling the culture of each of "these" children?

And what if "their" culture were no longer a discrete but all-embracing phenomenon? What if we no longer thought about their culture in the same way as we think of "culture", if their culture, instead of being remote, was part of the reality of the present and geographically close; if "country of origin" (far too abstract a term to describe a relationship with a landscape, a specific area, a history, a town or a village) no longer referred merely to a map and lists of towns and rivers but expressed the relationship that all "immigrant" children today have with it; and if country of origin carried with it family, affective associations?

I can see you have got a lot of wistful, distant memories, memories that are too fragmented, memories of holidays ... after all, weren't they born here? There you are, still imbued with your total culture. But do you know your own family's history as well as all that?

And if what you say is true, why not take that reality into account? If, instead of concentrating on the shortcomings and therefore what you would call difficulties or even lack of ability, we were to set to work on those fragments and see what they have to offer ... identify possible relationships between them and try to fill in any gaps that come to light?

What if "country of origin" extended to life here and now - to relationships between families ... with their customs, with their own view of education and of the roles of the various partners in it, with the colours and sounds and words and images that very often characterise them?

And what if their culture were also associated with the history of their immigration? When we (teachers and cultural workers) set out to reduce their culture to its overseas setting, we are perhaps trying to vaccinate ourselves against an economic, social and political reality. As long as their culture is something remote, we are spared the need to examine and understand Belgium's attitude to immigration ... and, of more immediate concern to us, we can postpone the day when real account might be taken of immigration in our own schools and cultural associations.

When we try to do something in connection with that remote thing called culture, are we not in fact trying to avoid awkward questions raised by the present? And when we talk about "their" culture, are we not effectively ignoring the relationship between it and the social and economic conditions in which they have to live it?

By trying to make "their culture" something remote, something that belongs to the past ... and is almost dead ... are we not preventing them from identifying with it, playing a part in it and, in their turn, shaping it?

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Lastly, the difference referred to and emphasised may just as easily be the right that some claim as theirs as the rejection of others because they are different. It does not take into account the historical movements that have shaped relations between peoples over the centuries. Finally, it may provide teachers and cultural workers with an explanation of their powerlessness: they have not had the opportunity of studying those cultures ...

It may even be that we are settling scores with ourselves by (rigidly) confining others within the uniqueness of "their own cultures". The anguished but no less repellent protests of certain people, some of whom are xenophobes and racists, are provoked not by the realities of the other person's culture (be he foreigner or immigrant) but by a vision that is both vivid and distant of a cultural reality - our own - about which we are less and less discerning and which we feel in our bones is giving way beneath our feet. The other person (the foreigner) is then rejected not so much because of what he is but because of the uncertainty we feel when he casts his gaze at us, a gaze which challenges us on account of the cultural uniqueness in which we have confined him ... and of the confusion which this uniqueness arouses in turn in us. We (teachers and cultural workers of all kinds) are undoubtedly so ill at ease when confronted with our own cultural diversity that we are not always as clear in our own minds as we would like to be about what constitutes "our culture".

Rejection of immigration or the confining of it within "its own cultural bounds" might be the result of our own cultural confusion and of a force with which we might have fallen out of step somewhere along the way. We would then prefer to treat the other person as being unique (as much in respect of the artificial fascination he holds over us as in respect of the rejection voiced by some when they want to send this embodiment of a supposedly unique culture back to the land from which he came) rather than try to understand the forces shaping and transforming him.

It is possible that we are talking not so much about the reality of the other person's cultural experience as about interactions between him and ourselves which have not been understood because he and we have not kept an open mind and because we too feel that we have been uprooted and that our own culture is also fragmented.

And what if, in the final analysis, "their culture" became the irruption into a hostile world (and hence into educational and cultural institutions proper) of a history of peoples who were enslaved in their own countries and whose enslavement continues in different ways, in different places and in different forms? What if their culture meant saying what they felt? What if their culture was the weapon of an identity being built up in the course of the inevitably complex relations that people establish (political commentators and moralists) should be left to talk about good and evil in this field) through the cultural forms which they encounter and which apparently differ so much: education, RTL, family, religion, work, the past, history ... our history.

And what if their culture was a link that had been found between past and present when everything had been done to make it impossible to establish any relationship, meaning or link?

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And what if "their" culture had to some extent become "ours"? Not by virtue of our taking it over but because we had at last looked at and taken into account the differences as much as the similarities, and because we had begun to accept that their presence, work and way of life were beginning to affect our own customs and outlook ...

OUR CULTURE

Having talked about "their culture", we now need to look at "our culture".

When their past is rejected, their culture unrecognised and their dynamic achievements ignored, immigrants are obliged to look to their own defence. It is then that a complex reality (immigration is not a uniform phenomenon, since it has its roots in geographically, socially, historically and economically diverse cultures which have experienced, endured and maintained clear links with one another) is simplified by virtue of its association with a minority, its rejection and the distorted opinion held of it ...

How many times have we seen the immigrant community raise aloft (and too high for its argument to ring true) the banners of nations, regions, religions and political sectarianism as purportedly unifying factors in the cultural diversity of its component peoples and as an answer to the minority "ghetto" into which it is cast not only by the authorities but also on occasion by the peoples of both emigration and immigration countries?

Rejection as a means of simplifying the problem is too often answered by simplistic affirmation. Though repressed, the immigrant community constantly falls into the trap set for it. But is it not readily comprehensible that one should proclaim one's Italianness when called an Eyetie and one's Moroccanness when called a wog, even if in practice - and when one is among one's own people - this Italianness and Moroccanness are immediately undermined by all sorts of differences? Is it not understandable that one should use flags to provide a skeleton identity, given the strength of slogans and over-simplification? And is it not understandable to try and find in religion an answer to everything (or so it might seem) when one is refused the means of finding out about, understanding and identifying one's own diversity? Is it not understandable to want to call a halt to one's own history - or rather to try and freeze certain relationships and ways of life, of bringing up one's children and of thinking in the form they had when one severed one's links with the country of one's birth? And is it not understandable, given the diversity of cultures as much as their fragmentation, to resort to ready-made identities, which do not need to be built up and which resemble a jacket into which one has already slipped one arm and has only to slip the other? Or that these ready-made identities should be the product of tradition, marginalisation or politicking or associated with the stars of the moment?

Since the immigrant community rarely has the wherewithal to build its own models, it finds itself forced to accept either the models of the dominant powers or those created by people who put forward a simplistic claim to represent an alternative power.

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While in many this line of thinking is understandable, it is hardly acceptable from those who claim to be developing an alternative approach, uniting the immigrant community and enabling it to organise, develop and express itself, since they reduce the cultural problem to "maintaining the culture of origin" or transposing a political group's programme, manifesto or ideology into songs and plays.

While it is vital to maintain cultures of origin and associate the phenomenon of immigration with specific peoples, lands and histories, it is more than dangerous to try and reduce the cultural complexity of immigration to such maintenance alone. This is because there is a great danger of very quickly coming to see this culture as something unique and therefore bearing no trace of cultures associated with different classes and peoples. There is also a danger of regarding "one's own culture" as a single, uniform structure impermeable to a diversity of interests, languages and influences, and of rejecting and despising a part of one's own history, namely immigration itself. In this situation the present is divorced from culture and regarded merely as a demeaning interlude between a past and a future which are both artificially idealised. And, despite the oppression visited upon immigration, there is also a risk of disdainfully rejecting or passing over in silence the lessons learned and the new horizons opened up. Finally, there is a danger of becoming cut off - permanently cut off - from young people unable to identify with the models that "their own" organisations have tried to build, as a result of which any possibility of united action and combat with Belgian workers will have been destroyed, even though the slogans uttered might seem to indicate otherwise.

This is because, in refusing to recognise cultural differences and the kaleidoscope of cultures present in each of us, we will have cast ourselves in a distinctive, separate and uniform mould which, since there is a real need for coherence, substitutes over-simplification for the living force of differences.

And, although it is essential to associate culture and politics, is it not dangerous to reduce the former to a mere adjunct of the latter, particularly when culture is regarded as relevant in politics only when it acts as a vehicle for the verbatim regurgitation of a political platform which more often than not consists of no more than a few slogans? In such circumstances it is hardly possible to avoid caricaturing immigration because of the need for a supposedly clear demonstration of the ultimate goals. At the same time, in the supposed interests of effectiveness, the dense complexity of life is banished from our minds.

We then discover that strict maintenance of the culture of origin and supposed politicisation alike have their roots in a specific view of culture and effectively deny the culturally composite nature of each individual's experience. This composite nature will, at best, be recognised at the level of a society as the super-imposition of distinct identities, but no mention will be made of diversity or of the inner conflict provoked by that diversity except to draw attention to short-comings, gaps, failures and surrenders.

That is where political over-simplification leads us: it hovers undecidedly between idealisation of the proletariat and negation of the proletariat's creative potential. In the name of cultural maintenance or of a political programme (based on return to home countries or on the continued presence of immigrants in Belgium), contradictions - in point of fact the conflict between all cultures (and we are definitely not talking here in simplistic terms of "our" culture and "their" culture) - are passed over in favour of a predetermined solution which runs partly counter to one's own interests and sees conflict and contradiction only as a sign of powerlessness. But, once a worker has the means to identify the cultures influencing him and those shaping his personality and to come to terms with them and accept them fully, does he not then become truly creative - something which no doubt frightens politicians as well as cultural workers and teachers of all kinds (because of the power they hold over the workers)?

Finally, what if we had the courage - and took the time - genuinely to observe, understand and contemplate not only apparent and real forms of alienation but also the creativity of daily life and the solutions derived from personal experience in the family and society!

But it is a fact that cultural and political action pays scant regard to these ideas and this approach, despite their origins in everyday experience and regardless of whether they are advocated by well intentioned people who talk of "their" culture or of well intentioned people who defend "our" culture. This is perhaps because the various groups have preserved of their world pictures merely a single and therefore immutable view ... and what does it matter if their respective views are of the past or the future when the assumptions on which they are based are so much alike?

4.6. Report of the Working Group

Chairman: Mr Henri HOSTERT (Luxembourg)

Rapporteur: Miss Thérèse MANGOT (Belgium)

Members:
Mr Xavier COUILLAUD (independent expert) (United Kingdom)
Mr Francis DEBYSER (independent expert) (France)
Mr Yngve LITHMAN (independent expert) (Sweden)
Mr Alain de WASSEIGE (independent expert) (Belgium)
Mr Josef VLASITS (Austria)
Mrs Karen JAKOBSEN (Denmark)
Mr Joachim DUMRESE (Federal Republic of Germany)
Mr Georges MARKOU (Greece)
Mr Antonio PEROTTI (Holy See)
Mrs Maria Ausilia CERRI (Italy)
Mrs Térésa QUINTELA (Portugal)
Mrs Maria Beatriz ROCHA-TRINDADE (Portugal)
Mr Hüsnü ARICI (Turkey)
Mrs Ginette BARREAU (France - Ministry of Social Affairs)
Mrs Arlette BARRIUSO DE CEUSTER (CEE)

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I. Clarification concerning the concept of culture

A number of clarifications were made in this connection which are general in scope but are being experienced by the new generation (second generation - comment: some prefer the term «new generation» as it denotes a young group trying to become integrated).

The main points to be noted are as follows:

- culture is a dynamic, variegated and independent whole which should be considered in its contradictory aspects. It exists within a context of a balance of power and an historical context;

- accordingly, it is necessary to reject an evolutionistic view of culture which presupposes a series of stages ranging from archaism to advanced civilisation, the prototype of which is our western societies;

- culture should therefore no longer be spoken of as a static body of knowledge defined once and for all and transmissible in a formal manner;

- instead, it should be seen how culture is being constructed by the new generation in opposition (resistance culture) to the dominant culture in relation to the new situations to be confronted and sometimes in sympathy with the host country's young people experiencing the same problems;

- one of the methods of this construction is what has been called reinterpretation of the face of situations. This reinterpretation entails a negotiation (regarding the allocation of economic resources, information, language etc within a balance of power) between the new generation and the majority society. It entails mutual transformations. It is being re-enacted in various sensitive areas (regarding school, health, the family, work etc).

II. Clarification concerning certain determinisms

Several clarifications were made concerning the relationship between the policies of states (countries of origin and host countries), economic determinism and the psycho-social reality experienced by the new generation.

a. While the interests of countries of origin, host countries and the first generation combine to speak in terms of a «return», the new generation seems, on the whole, to think in terms of settling in the countries in which it is at present living, and in the sense it is looking for new ways of life;

b. In this connection attention was drawn to various pitfalls to be avoided:

   - If one speaks today of the second generation, is this not a way of designating a problem target group and condemning it to become dependent on social assistance?

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- If so much emphasis is placed on the cultural aspects when the second generation is being spoken of, is it not because economic integration is precluded for the new generation?

- If attention is given to the cultural identity is this not a way of avoiding an enquiry into the crisis of identity which our societies are undergoing?

III. The role of «social agents» (teachers, social workers, nurses etc)

In the cultural context described above should not the role of a social agent be to decipher what is being constructed, to provide a meaning on the basis of what is being tried out?

Particular vigilance should, however, be exercised in pursuing this work, as it would be regrettable if a «new attitude» on the part of the majority society were to confine the new generation's groups within rigid limits again. To this end it is necessary to cultivate the observation of specific situations and the ways in which they emerge in history.

The social agents accordingly have a part to play in the above-mentioned process of reinterpretation. They can help the target groups to go beyond individual «muddling through», but that presupposes training and the acquisition of tools.

While a minority, economically weak, group will clearly have difficulty in asserting its cultural existence, it would be wrong to ignore its ability to react and the dialectical relationship that is established between it and the majority society.

Once again this will depend on the role of social agents. They can help the groups to become better acquainted with their own contradictory values and acquire the tools of the majority's cultural system. It is on that condition that negotiations can take place between equal partners.

- A further clarification was provided concerning capacity for reinterpretation: it presupposes people who have not repressed their original cultural codes (are aware of them, dare to speak of them, accept them) and the fact that codes are not imposed upon them (parental authority);

- another task of the social agent in an educational project is to help institutions to escape from their specialisations, to remove the «schizophrenic» divisions between the various areas;

- the social agents also include «intermediate» personnel (charwomen, caretakers, secretaries etc) who should also be taken into account in a project;

- some social agents have gradually emerged from the new generation; there is thus a danger of their being confined to a single role of «immigrant specialists» without any access to other, broader functions in society.

  In this connection it was observed that although some do «make the grade» and attain positions to responsibility, they very often lose their ties with the group of immigrants (even if privately, it is said, they remain attached to their countries of origin).

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- Again in connection with reinterpretation, it was pointed out that not everything needs to be reinterpreted or renegotiated if it is regarded by the group as a gain, a step forward. An example given was the situation of North African women in relation to women's freedom in our own countries.

What seems important in this debate is once again our societies' ability to observe current trends concerning certain cultural phenomena from elsewhere, to understand the values underlying certain forms of behaviour and the history which produced them - if a choice must be made, it will be made in a very different way.

IV. With regard to formal educational systems (schools)

It was first of all reiterated that schools were not the heart of the educational and cultural system that vital issues and balances of power lay elsewhere (the media, work, the street etc).

Nevertheless schools are at the centre of discussion as the practical application of a number of cultural and political interests.

Depending on whether the new generation is regarded as an ethnic minority more than as migrant children, educational strategies lay empahsis on other priorities.

For instance, most countries of origin consider their responsibility to be to promote the national language and culture among their nationals. They accordingly want the teachers who provide the instruction to be supplied by the countries of origin so as to preserve the «standard» language and culture.

They therefore demand for these teachers a status similar to that of the host country's teachers and advocate training courses which give an insight into the realities of immigration.

Conversely, those who regard immigration as a structural phenomenon and hence the new generation as an ethnic minority tend rather to regard language and culture as being in the process of developing and thus see teachers who are products of immigration as capable of establishing a link between a group's own culture and that of the host country. From this point of view language is a plural, evolving phenomenon. It can change from the place where it is spoken (whether it be the language of the country of origin or the host country). In this connection it may be observed that the younger generation have an incredible ability to use different languages according to wherever they happen to be (emotional or functional situations, for example).

The group nevertheless recommended avoiding unnecessary contradictions in this connection and considered that both approaches served a social purpose according to the situation.

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V. ... and interculturalism:

Interculturalism should be construed less as a relationship between cultures in the abstract sense than as a series of interactions between people, groups of people (sub-groups) and institutions negotiating a reallocation of resources within a balance of power (see above).

Accordingly, even if interculturalism presupposes recognition of cultures equal amongst themselves, unequal economic relations between social groups make these negotiations highly precarious, if not impossible.

It was emphasised that while the aim of schools was the academic «success» of their pupils, interculturalism implied that schools should incorporate new elements in their selection criteria (eg setting greater store by being bilingual, knowing several cultural codes etc).

In this connection it was observed that the languages and cultures of other countries as well as the history of immigration should be covered at all levels of teaching (professorships, research, teacher training etc). Stress was also laid here on the need not to reduce intercultural teaching to biculturalism between states' cultures.

N.B. Interculturalism also means linking together areas and their cultures.

Final remarks

The racism impregnating most of our institutions is the antithesis par excellence of interculturalism. How can it be combatted? It must be combated ! again and again.

Young people sometimes refuse to intervene for fear of becoming «specialised» in the problem of exclusion. They can sometimes be mobilised into changing the causes of racist reactions (eg changing housing).

5. Conclusions of the General Rapporteur

5.1 I shall not try here, as is usually the case at symposia, to summarise the conclusions of the groups with a view to making recommendations, but rather to highlight a number of ideas, to raise a number of questions with the aim of stimulating further debate in the project group in the years ahead.

5.2 Generally speaking, the colloquy confirmed the options formulated in the previous work and activity reports both of the working party on teacher training and of Project No.7. In particular, it confirmed:

- the field of reference and of action of interculturalism, whose scope is at once international and local and which postulates (and works towards) the removal of institutional, social, geographical barriers, but also the barrier of time, since it belongs both to the future and to the present (cf in particular «The education of the children of migrant workers in Europe: interculturalism and teacher training», by L Porcher, Council of Europe, «Education and Culture» series, Strasbourg 1981);

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- the recommendations made with regard to teacher training, the teaching of languages and cultures of origin, the provision of teaching resources and the provision at European level of information about intercultural education and the cultural development of migrants (cf in particular report of the 2nd Donaueschingen European Seminar on «The education of migrant children: intercultural pedagogy in the field», by L Porcher, doc. DECS/EGT (79) 37);

- the importance of mutual images and the need to overcome stereotypes, so reinterpret values in the light of improved knowledge of one's own and one's partner's cultural expression (cf in particular report of the Lisbon course on the intercultural training of teachers, by Mr Roy von Allmen, doc. DECS/EGT (82) 11);

- the existence and significance of immigrant cultures (cf report of the colloquy on migrant culture and culture of origin by M Alabuf, doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4).

5.3 The first working group, discussing «multicultural Europe in the year 2000 - challenges and opportunities», stressed the importance of interaction between cultures. Migration has resulted in a degree of cultural diversity whose impact is lasting and irreversible. Such interaction is often hampered by majority-minority relationships, ethnocentric attitudes and selection systems and is bound to influence policy. It is nevertheless likely that host societies will evolve by incorporating certain features of the minority cultures. This will entail adaptation - linguistic, cultural and social - both for the ethnic minorities (learning the local language, adjusting to the basic social values of the host society, preservation of certain cultural features) and for the native population (knowledge and recognition of cultural diveristy and rejection of prejudice, greater value attached to varied language skills), which will mean treating the problem as one which affects the population as a whole. This will have implications for education as an institution and for teacher training.

The second group, dealing with «the role of the school in a changing society» emphasised the key role of the school in achieving equality of educational and occupational opportunity and in the implementation of an outward looking intercultural approach in education, but also drew attention to its limitations. These are of several kinds. Being required to transmit the community's cultural heritage, which makes reference not only to general fundamental values (democracy, freedom, tolerance), but also to national or regional values and class values, it cannot, as an agent of change, act alone. Its action must enjoy the support of the social community and be matched by awareness on the part of the school community (officials, teachers and other staff). Furthermore, the uncertainty of the economic situation restricts its resources and aggravates tensions within and between cultures.

As regards measures to further the school's action, emphasis is placed on the importance of local resource centres and of the need for a European institution to take charge of the distribution and circulation of documentary material concerning problems, experience, innovation and research in migrants' education.

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Moreover, with the increase in mobility between European countries, a great many migrants may be expected to return to their countries of origin. Measures need to be taken to ensure that their children do not - once again - suffer because of migration. It must also be appreciated that they constitute a link between host country and country of origin, the seed of mutual understanding.

The third group, which discussed «migrant culture and its educational implications» stressed the diversity and drive of migrants' culture groups, the need to see these forms of expression in terms of their history and their interaction with the surrounding culture. «Migrant culture» grows up partly out of opposition, partly out of solidarity. Those dealing with migrants (teachers, educators, social workers, etc) in schools and other educational and cultural facilities must be able to grasp the phenomena which occur and to co-operate in building up these forms of expression and in the negotiations they entail.

Some intercultural aspects of relevance to the theme of the colloquy concerned all three discussion groups equally. Some of them are discussed below.

5.4 The anticipatory aspect

The purpose of the colloquy was to think about Europe in the year 2000, about the changes that will take place over the next 20 years and which will have to be taken into account if we wish to construct the future rather than simply be subjected to it. Interculturalism postulates and seeks to work towards cultural dynamism, exchange and mutual enrichment, realisation of the potential of individuals and groups: all notions which can be realised in time. Yet time is not an abstraction but historical fact. What will be the history of these next twenty years in which and on the basis of which interculturalism will take shape and find expression or be aspired to? The group had difficulty in forming an anticipatory vision of things to come, in imagining the future, in conceiving of the nature, form and consequences of the events, situations and changes which may occur. Yet these, whether they be ethnological, sociological, political, economic or technological will have a direct or indirect but definite impact on school and on intercultural relations. It is important, on the basis of what is known about the past and the present, to analyse the processes of change and of resistance and to evaluate their impact, to make forecasts and to assess the probable margin of error, to analyse the methods of interpreting events which are available or which need to be devised and their role in the course of history.

How is this difficulty to be interpreted?

- The year 2000, it was said, is today. What it is like will be determined by the answers we find to the problems of the present time. It accordingly has to be approached via present day reality.

- Our powerlessness to envision the future was linked - it was suggested - to an unconscious refusal to question existing relationships. In this respect, other continents seemed more bold. Could this be because we find ourselves in a society of the old and that ageing affects our analysis? As officials responsible for managing schools, for example, we wish to keep school alive and fear lest it be destroyed. Yet to think about a school-less society would be a less vain exercise than it appeared some years ago ...

At all events, one striking fact is the tendency of the school system to close in on itself. The problems in it are so intractable that we cannot manage to extricate ourselves from them sufficiently in order to take a detached view. Among the most real and formidable of these problems are ethnocentricity and inequality of educational opportunity. Speculation about school tends to assume it is autonomous. Yet its interconnection with the whole range of social institutions and their possible reorganisation is fundamental.

Nor is it possible to ignore the key role of North-South relations, including the complexity of South-South relations. The migration phenomenon as seen from the point of view of its present local and European consequences, is in fact a global problem, largely depending on economic and political factors, which is encountered in various forms in all continents and whose impact is assuredly intercontinental - suffice it to mention the problem of Asian refugees.

If the whole of space is mobilised, so is time. Seen from this angle, the «second generation» problem is wrongly stated. In an ethnocentric society, it would still not be resolved in the sixth generation, since cultures last longer than generations! Evidence of this can be found in the presence of several millions of people speaking French or Polish in the United States, keeping their culture alive in another continent. Hence the either/or assumption of return home or integration, or even medium-term assimilation, does not correspond to the reality of social and cultural relationships within and between the various communities. Similarly, the migration phenomenon must be seen as a permanent as well as a variable one. Assuredly, local situations are related to the migratory flow, and that flow is now slowing down in the industrialised countries of western Europe. But that does not eliminate the problems, it merely modifies the facts of the situation. Moreover, the trend is not irreversible.

Among the changes which will certainly occur over the next twenty years, attention will particularly have to be paid to technological progress, the development of computers and communication by satellite, which are bound to modify the way in which school works and its relationship with society.

In point of fact, this latter half of the twentieth century is characterised by a growing awareness of contradictory realities: the development of great empires on the one hand, minority demands on the other. In the media, for example, we have satellite broadcasting but also neighbourhood television; in the political sphere we have international relations, intercontinental travel, but also the assertion of regional cultural identity and minority rights. Much the same could be said of religious observance. The problem is one of how these various dimensions fit together. The concept of diversification, pluralism, removal of barriers then becomes fundamental and there is reason to think, as Mr F Debyser pointed out, that only societies which are receptive to finding progressive solutions to difficulties of pluralism will have any chance of resolving them in a relatively satisfactory manner. The school of tomorrow will have to integrate such diversity more and more. But care will have to be taken to ensure that the reforms carried out - whether technological or structural - do contribute to reducing inequalities and that these do not reappear in another form.

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5.5 Country of origin/host country

Multicultural Europe of course embraces both what are customarily called «countries of origin» and their communities and the so-called «host» countries. However, the discussions focused mainly on the situation in the host countries and on the presence of minorities in these countries; the co-operation of the countries of origin was sought mainly for the purpose of managing the multicultural situation and furthering acceptance of differences in the host countries. However, cultural diversity is not confined - and will in future be still less so - to the host countries. Account must be taken of the constantly increasing mobility between European countries, of the return of a number of immigrants to their own countries, of the interaction arising out of the contacts maintained by some immigrants with their community of origin after settling abroad and of the presence in several so-called countries of origin of in- and out-migration and the co-existence of different expressions of culture. The problems of immigrants' resettlement in their countries of origin were referred to; but the features specific to the situation in these countries merits examination of how the intercultural approach applies to countries of origin, its role in foreseeable changes and in planned changes, the kind of co-operation with host countries that ought to be fostered.

5.6 Values

It is particularly significant that the subject of people's attitudes towards values from the intercultural point of view was brought up in all three working parties.

Special stress was laid on the changes which could occur in the values of both sides, migrants and natives, and the changes entailed for the community as a whole. There was an important discussion of the need to foster certain among these values. The school and the educational system are given a role to play not only in dispensing instrumental knowledge but also in inculcating values. They are asked to construct attitudes, to provide pupils with the means of «reading» and interpreting the variety of values which they encounter. The following remarks are an extension of discussion in the groups.

5.6.1 It was difficult in the discussions to pin-point various «values» otherwise than in terms of contrasting pairs: good/bad, ours/theirs, and to talk about them otherwise than in general, partial, stereotyped terms. We are right to ask ourselves whether certain values are or are not negotiable, whether or not they are absolute, to ask ourselves what are the means of pursuing the intercultural option (democratic values, diversity, breaking down barriers, co-operation, etc) against opponents of this objective. This has to be done on the basis of a correct grasp of the values, of what they aim at, their field of action and their operation.

5.6.2 In this connection, the notion of paradox came up. This notion seems to us crucial. In fact the simultaneous, paradoxical presence of contradictory values is a part of real life. It may be observed at several levels:

- intracultural (within the same culture)
- intercultural (between different cultures)
- between discourse and reality or actual intent.

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The operation of these contradictory values exercises a restraining influence, gives «intent» a particular slant, enables problems to be circumvented, deceit to be exercised, smokescreens to be put up and so on, but it also offers room for change, cracks in the monolithic structures which can be positive and enable hard-and-fast attitudes to be tempered.

An objective knowledge of values as they actually operate, affording access to a broader way of stating problems, ought to take the several dimensions into account. Firstly, there is no denying that often the values which the Council of Europe seeks to promote, such as the values of democracy, equality of educational opportunity, equality of the sexes which have been given priority by the working parties, are not fully observed even in the so-called democratic countries. The negotiation and struggle for the protection of these values are in fact just as necessary as within native communities as where several cultures come into contact with one another. Differences in values are in fact not always marked by national frontiers.

Furthermore, immigrant communities and the societies of the country of origin, whether European or non-European, are not monolithic either. Attention must accordingly be paid to the question of negotiable or absolute values, taking into account the adjustment and adaptation thay may occur in space and time. As was pointed out, it is not only in Europe that the status of women is changing. It is accordingly important to look beyond appearances, to think about values taking into account the possibility of contradictory values existing side by side (a frequent occurence in intra-cultural terms, for example, between generations). From this point of view, an analysis of the function of the co-existence between paradoxical (contradictory) values would be useful.

In addition, real life does not always, at present, measure up to discourse, nor to actual intent. There may be a degree of tension between the two that must not be overlooked.

As an example, the question of reappraisal of schools' assessment criteria, demanded with a view to equalisation of educational opportunity. There is, in particular, the problem of enhancing the value of immigrants' and minorities' mother tongues (or languages of origin). Is not the real underlying reason for resistance a fear that the «deprived» may become «privileged» in relation to the native inhabitants or those who stayed in the country of origin? Conversely, there is also the problem of orthography: abolishing its teaching at school, if its status in the community is not changed at the same time, can only further disadvantage those who are already disadvantaged and deprive them of resources in the face of social selection. It must be realised that change must be understood in conjunction with the modification of the power relationships and scales of values which it may (or may not) entail or from which it will arise. This is where the basic issue lies.

5.6.3 Methodologically, before establishing a scale of values, it is necessary to overcome the stereotyped «surface» understanding of values which are opposed to one another in the ordinary sense and to relate them to the way in which they actually operate.

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It must be ensured that the problem is not wrongly stated so as, for example, to impose a choice between two supposedly opposite values, when in reality they complement or are related to one another.

For instance, equality of opportunity has been contrasted with development of the mother tongue, immigrant culture with culture of origin, cohesion with diversity. Are these really pairs of values in which preference must be given to one over the other? One ought rather to examine to what extent the development of the mother tongue and provision for the culture of origin are a way (a good way, because of the symbolic value of the language in the formation of cultural identity and expression) of progressing towards equality of educational opportunity.

There is sometimes a tendency to disregard language-and-culture classes on the grounds that they only partially represent migrants' culture. This is perhaps to forget that the languages and cultures of the host country are also made up of a wide range of aspects of which only some are given privileged treatment by the school (which nevertheless is beginning to be more receptive to diversity). Why might not migrants also be participants in a culture of origin with many different aspects (historically, geographically, socially) and might not courses in the language and culture of origin also be more receptive to such diversity? Perhaps it is also to forget the value attached socially to standard languages and «legitimate» cultures («legitimate» in the sense used by the French sociologist Bourdieu). Migrants also have a right to a cultural education and to learn various linguistic registers or varieties among which is one variety that may be «legitimised» by the school and hence «recognised» in the host country.

The importance of cultural diversity has been emphasised. But it has often been added: provided that it does not jeopardise social cohesion. Such a proviso suggests a direct relationship, in the sense of an inverse proportional relationship, between diversity and cohesion. Others emphasise - and this corresponds better to the intercultural approach - that social cohesion is related to the community's receptiveness towards diversity, its ability to accept and to manage pluralism. The values of «social cohesion» and of «cultural diversity» then fit together quite differently. It is accordingly essential to think and to find out more about the real factors for social cohesion in order to be able to formulate action strategies and to construct the indices.

5.6.4. Lastly, thought needs to be given to the participative symbolic and representative functions of values (as distinct from their intrinsic qualities) in each community and to the social changes which must precede or at least accompany changes in values - or in the form of expression of those values, if they are to be changed. For cultural changes can occur (without constraint) only, it would seem, in so far as the needs to which the values or forms in question corresponded no longer exist, or when the functions which they fulfilled are otherwise provided for.

5.7 Identification of specific problems

The discussion prompted by these questions in the project group showed that, depending on local experience and national constraints, opinion and feelings vary even within the group itself. Many questions remain to be answered, in relation to the intercultural reference framework, the recognition of values and their relationship with economic and cultural power and practices.

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Interculturalism has always been defined as an objective, but one which cannot be attained without taking into account the existing situation. The tension between these two poles of actual and potential gives rise to problems which must not be ignored but which must be identified in order to progressively solve them.

The group wishes to elucidate these questions in order to be able to progress in the compilation of practical guides, methodologies, educational recommendations, and in the implementation of intercultural methods in the field.

The remarks which follow lead on from the work done by the group so far to its projects for further activity, but are intended only as a basis for discussion.

It would be wrong to think that there is only one solution to each of the particular problems, or to assert that each situation is different, that none of them is comparable with the others and that no one solution is better than another. What is needed is to make the necessary choices according to the various factors involved, in the light of the situation and objectives.

The concrete identification of problems involves taking into account firstly (the vertical axis) the actual question which has to be answered and, secondly (the horizontal axis) the facts of the situation.

Along the vertical axis, the problems arising may concern teaching methods, teacher training, cultural relations and any other field. Those most frequently brought up in the project group concern:

- the role of classes in the language and culture of origin in the host countries and the choice of teachers, either sent from the country of origin or recruited among the migrant community;

- the possible forms of intercultural education;

- teacher training and the educational implications (positive and/or negative) that their knowledge (recommended or demanded) of one or more languages spoken by migrants may have;

- the diversity of scales of values (eg women's role), linked both with social stratification within a particular community and with the geographical and cultural distance between two or more societies;

- the importance of associations in relations between migrants and natives;

- the socialisation of girls and women.

Along the horizontal axis, the facts of the situation involve at least three dimensions:

The first concerns the determination of the local context, whether in a host country or a country of origin. The following are examples of significant variables:

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- density/dispersion of the community, whether it is of urban/rural type;

- relative number of migrants, their concentration/dispersal;

- variety of migrants' countries of origin (or immigration countries) and relative proportions of the various groups;

- the position(s) of migrants in the power/domination hierarchy;

- length of stay or integration in the country (recent or less-recent immigration);

- age of the migrants concerned by the problem;

- the resources of the community and the relevant authorities in human/cultural/economic/technical terms;

- the structure of the relevant authorities, their field of responsibility and scope for action, their power, their limitations (social/economic/legislative, etc).

The second dimension concerns the specific situation of the migrants concerned by the particular problem and how they see themselves in relation to the local community on the one hand and their country of origin on the other (or the country where they were migrants, if they are now back in their country of origin).

In this respect, importance attaches to their relationship with the authorities (host country and country of origin), their political involvement and choices, their plans for settling, returning or moving, their cultural points of reference and their identification models, their languages, the forms of expression which they wish to use and their demands.

The third dimension concerns the official relations between the host country and the country of origin concerned, their plans (political, economic, social) for migrants, the agreements between them and the quality of their co-operation.

When the situation has been analysed in this way, it will be possible to ask, in terms of a concretely identified and specified problem, what «intercultural» means and how it can be expressed, what action and what solutions can be envisaged by reference to that option.

ANNEXE I
APPENDIX I

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